

THE SANCTITY OF MARRIAGE

An agreed Statement on "The Sanctity of Marriage" was issued by the Eastern Orthodox - Roman Catholic Consultation, following its nineteenth meeting which took place on 7 and 8 December 1978 at the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in New York City.

The Consultation was chaired by Archbishop Iakovos, Chairman of the Ecumenical Commission of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas. Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee represented William Cardinal Baum, Chairman of the Catholic Commission, National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The Statement was drafted by Bishop Maximos of Diokleia, Director of the Ecumenical Office of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, and Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Holy Cross School of Theology in Brookline, Mass.; and Father Edward J. Kilmartin, S.J., Executive Secretary of the Catholic Commission, and Professor of Liturgical Theology at Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Ind. and was signed by the following members of the Consultation:

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AN AGREED STATEMENT ON THE SANCTITY OF MARRIAGE

Introduction

At a time when the sacred character of married life is radically threatened by contrary lifestyles, we the members of the Orthodox - Roman Catholic Consultation feel called by the Lord to speak from the depth of our common faith and to affirm the profound meaning, the "glory and honor," of married life in Christ.

I. The Sacramental Character of Marriage

For Christians of both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches marriage is a sacrament. Through the prayers and actions of our wedding rites we profess the presence of Christ in the Spirit and believe that it is the Lord who unites a man and a woman in a life of mutual love. In this sacred union, husband and wife are called by Christ not only to live and work together, but also to share their Christian life so that each with the aid of the other may progress through the Holy Spirit in the life of

holiness and so achieve Christian perfection. This relationship between husband and wife is established and sanctified by the Lord. As a sacred vocation, marriage mirrors the union of Christ and the Church (Eph. 5:23).

Christ affirmed and blessed the oneness and profound significance of marriage. Christian tradition, following His teaching, has always proclaimed the sanctity of marriage. It has defined marriage as the fundamental relationship in which a man and woman, by total sharing with each other, seek their own growth in holiness, and that of their children, and thus show forth the presence on earth of God's kingdom.

II. Enduring Vocation

The special character of the human relationship established through marriage has always been recognized in the Christian tradition. By sanctifying the marital bond, the Church affirms a permanent commitment to personal union, which is expressed in the free giving and acceptance of each other by a man and a woman. The sacrament of marriage serves as an admirable example of the union which exists between God and the believer. The Old Testament uses marriage to describe the covenant relationship between God and His people (Hosea). The Letter to the Ephesians sees marriage as type of the relationship which exists between Christ and His Church (Eph. 5:31 - 35). Consequently both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches affirm the permanent character of Christian marriage: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder" (Mt. 19:6).

However, the Orthodox Church, out of consideration of the human realities, permits divorces, after it exhausts all possible efforts to save the marriage, and tolerates remarriages in order to avoid further human tragedies. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes the dissolution of sacramental non-consummated marriages either through solemn religious profession or by papal dispensation. To resolve the personal and pastoral issues of failed marriages which have been consummated an inquiry is often undertaken to uncover whether there exists some initial defect in the marriage covenant which would render the marriage invalid.

III. The Redeeming Effect of Marital Love

A total sharing of a life of love and concern is not possible apart from God. The limitations of human relationships do not allow for a giving and receiving which fulfill the partners. However, in the life of the Church, God gives the possibility of continual progress in the deepening of human relationships. By opening the eyes of faith to the vision that these relationships have as their goal, God offers a more intimate union with Himself. Through the liberating effect of divine love, experienced through human love, believers are led away from self-centeredness and self-idolatry. The Gospel indicates the direction that this love must ultimately take: toward intimate union with the One Who alone can satisfy the fundamental yearning of people for self-fulfillment.

Given this vision of reality, Christian tradition recognizes that the total devotion of the married partners implies as its goal a relationship with God. It teaches, moreover, that the love which liberates them to seek union with God and which is the source of sanctification for them, is made possible through the presence of the Spirit of God within them.

Through the love manifested in marriage, an important witness is given to the world of the love of God in Christ for all people. The partners in Christian marriage have the task, as witnesses of redemption, to accept as the inner law of their personal relationship that love which determines the relationship between Christ and the Church: "Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself up for Her" (Eph. 5:25). Through this love, which liberates believers from selfish interests and sanctifies their relationships, the Christian husband and wife find the inspiration in turn to minister in loving service to others.

IV. Theological Clarifications on Christian Marriage

In the teaching of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches a sacramental marriage requires both the mutual consent of the believing Christian partners and God's blessing imparted through the ministry of the Church.

At present there are differences in the concrete ways in which this ministry must be exercised in order to fulfill the

theological and canonical norms for marriage in our two Churches. There are also differences in the theological interpretation of this diversity. Thus the Orthodox Church accepts as sacramental only those marriages sanctified in the liturgical life of the Church by being blessed by an Orthodox priest.

The Catholic Church accepts as sacramental the marriages which are celebrated before a Catholic priest or even a deacon, but it also envisions some exceptional cases in which, by reason of a dispensation or the unavailability of a priest or deacon, Catholics may enter into a sacramental marriage in the absence of an ordained minister of the Church.

An examination of the diversities of practice and theology concerning the required ecclesial context for Christian marriage that have existed in both traditions demonstrates that the present difference must be considered to pertain more to the level of secondary theological reflection than to that of dogma. Both Churches have always agreed that the ecclesial context is constitutive of the Christian sacrament of marriage. Within this fundamental agreement various possibilities of realization of the ecclesial context are possible as history has shown and no one form of the realization can be considered to be absolutely normative in all circumstances.

V. Plans for Further Study

The members of the Orthodox - Roman Catholic Consultation give thanks to God for this common faith in the sanctity of marriage which we share in our sister churches. We recognize however that pastoral problems remain to be studied in depth, such as the liturgical celebration of weddings between Orthodox and Roman Catholic partners and the religious upbringing of children in such families. We continue to explore these questions out of a common vision of marriage and with confidence in the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

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THE BIBLICAL CONTENT AND VISION OF ORTHODOX WORSHIP AND SPIRITUALITY

It is not a difficult task to describe how biblical content and vision are expressed in biblical worship and spirituality. In this respect we mean those elements of biblical worship and spirituality which constitute their distinctive character, and not what the Old or New Testament in these areas have in common with other religions or religious cults.

In all religions there are certain practices related to particular places, times, persons, objects and the like, through which communion with the Divine is enjoyed, and certain favors from the Transcendent are obtained for the benefit of the individual or the community, though they do not constitute its particular character. These features are common to all 'natural religions,' and one does not need to be a Barthian to have reservations about what we call 'natural religion.' Even the ancient Fathers of the Church, through doing missionary work within paganism, did not support 'natural religion'; they only tolerated it, sometimes very easily indeed, for purely pedagogical reasons.

The particular content and vision of biblical worship and spirituality is determined by the particular historical point of reference of biblical religion in general. What distinguishes the God of the Bible and differentiates Him from all other deities is that He is particularly interested, related to and involved in human history. Something has gone wrong with human history, and the God of the Bible, through Israel, Jesus Christ and the Church, gets deeply involved in history (Incarnation, Sacraments, and others), and it is He Who leads history to its final consummation. This historical determination of the biblical God is expressed by the idea of the Covenant. Even the Incarnation means 'Emmanuel,' that God makes His dwelling and home with us (Jn. 1.14). Biblical worship and spirituality, both in the Old and in the New Testaments, are imbued by the idea of the Covenant. On God's side, this means keeping the promises of fulfillment in what pertains to human history and the world; on man's side it means a response of faith and

obedience, expressed through certain cultic practices, but mainly and foremost through keeping the demands of 'justice' and 'loving-kindness.' The Old Testament Prophets were particularly sensitive in interpreting worship and spirituality through their social message of justice and loving-kindness. The man who is just with his neighbor is the right worshipper of Yahweh. In the New Testament—we refer to the subject very briefly—Jesus, acting along the same prophetic lines, cleanses the Temple, and Paul recommends to the Corinthians 'prophecy' over 'glossolalia' (though not excluding the latter).

The same is true of biblical spirituality in general. It is expressed in more than one way. Quiet, natural confidence and trust in God and His promise are stressed in the stories about the Patriarchs. However, the more substantial feature of the biblical spirit comes up in the sense of historical mission by the people of God in the Exodus Event, the Temptation in the Desert, the struggle against the Baalim during the conquest of Canaan, and gloriously, indeed, in the fight of the Prophets to preserve the Covenant with Yahweh against the pressures exercised on Israel by the world powers of the time. That was a 'covenant-centered' spirituality, manifested in the prophetic life and message as faithfulness to God's promises for fulfillment, as justice and loving-kindness to the neighbor. The Priest and the Sage in Israel did not always remain faithful to the Covenant; and even when they were, they gave it a different meaning than the Prophet. The spirituality of the Priest urged communion with God in the Temple through sacrifices and cultic ceremonies, and insisted on maintaining the prescribed laws for sacrifice and cultic purity. The Sage, particularly the one of the later period, tried to transform the essence of the Law into practical wisdom and common sense guiding principles, aiming at the effective solution of the everyday problems of the individual. Sometimes we find all these types of spirituality in one and the same person. Finally, we have all the above-mentioned types of spirituality represented in the Psalter, plus the one of the individual finding himself in dire need in the face of enemies, in disease or suppression, and crying to God for help and salvation. Summing up, one can say that the prophetic type of spirituality was consistently 'covenant-centered,' whereas the others, without being par-

tially or totally unfaithful to the Covenant, turned their main attention to the 'natural' needs of the individual.

In the New Testament prophetic spirituality prevails, the emphasis being not only on the expected final fulfillment but also in the 'beginning of the end' which has already come. The prophet and martyr, the man of the 'end of days,' inaugurated by Christ, is the prevailing type. This is a 'Christ-New Covenant,' or 'Divine Kingdom' spirituality.

According to these presuppositions, one can say conclusively that religion in the Old Testament or worship and spirituality in the Church (beyond any 'religious' rubrics inherited from the ancient world) are biblical when: (a) they recite an act of God's grace in the past, (b) they actualize it in one way or the other in the life of the believers in worship and in spiritual living, and (c) they turn attention to the final act of God in history, bringing to completion what the original historical act of grace inaugurated. One must in this context make particular reference to Christ's Death and Resurrection, which is the nucleus of the Divine Liturgy. Christ's Death expresses, of course, a deep and incomprehensible mystery about God's relation to the world and humanity. Whatever that may be, as far as worship and spirituality are concerned, the Death of Christ, as an act of grace, (a) means the end of all sacrifice in the sense of human effort to make expiation or somehow secure the divine favor, and (b) indicates the process of death on the Cross or *askesis* as a necessary component in the march of the Church and the Christian towards the Kingdom of God. The Resurrection, on the other hand, expresses in parallel fashion the decision and power of God for the renewal of human life, human society and creation in the event of Christ. Since His Incarnation Christ has been the sign of the new life in a new world. Death and oppression could do nothing against this life which came out victorious in the Resurrection and in the life of the Spirit. All these must be central in Christian life and spirituality. This celebration of the new life for the world, started with Christ, is the event of the New Testament (Covenant), the event actualized in the Eucharist, an event expected in its fullness in the future.

Before closing this part of the study, I would like to make some preliminary remarks to clarify our subject. First, wor-

ship and spirituality in the biblical sense have a collective character, some kind of relation to the promises given to humanity, to the people of God in Christ. The individual in his particular needful situation or happiness finds his fulfillment always in the Church, in relation to the march of the people of God towards the Kingdom. Secondly, the nuclear event of Christ in worship and spirituality is a world dimensional event. In other words, I cannot worship God in Christ or live a spiritual life in the biblical sense without somehow being related in terms of judgment or grace to the whole of humanity and the whole world. This is the social and cosmic dimension of Christian worship. Thirdly, it is commonplace that ritualism and 'natural religion' found their way into Church worship and spirituality very early. Their influence varies in the history of the Church's life. It depends always on the power of certain factors other than the Spirit of God. The Holy Spirit, spirit of judgment and renewal, is the real guardian of the purity of our worship and spirituality. The struggle of the Old Testament Prophets against ritualism and 'natural religion' is going on in the New Testament and in the Church. Of course, God's promise remains true; there is always, however, the possibility for the Spirit to be quenched. This very simple fact has often been forgotten, and everything in traditional worship and spirituality is accepted as a fruit of the Spirit only because it has become part and parcel of the traditional material. In this sense, liturgical and spiritual renewal must be included in the common and regular part of the Church's life. Fourthly, worship and spirituality are a preliminary imperfect realization, as well as a sign, of our communal and individual life in the age to come, in the new era, which is the aim and source of inspiration for the Christian during his march towards the Kingdom.

Because of this relationship of worship and spirituality to the Bible, our coming together at this meeting makes sense. As Orthodox Christians it is our duty to reexamine the place of biblical content and vision in our Orthodox worship and spirituality. We believe that our Church is Apostolic in the sense that we worship in essence what the Apostles worshipped and that in our spiritual life we continue their spirituality. We accept that the forms of worship and spirituality have changed since the time of the Apostles; we accept also that

uniformity in worship or spirituality is not necessary; what we insist upon is the essential continuity with the Apostolic Church, namely, with Her biblical content and vision. It is not necessary to say anything about the significance of the subject for ecumenical dialogue, which is evident.

While it is an easy task to describe how biblical content and vision were expressed in biblical worship and spirituality, it is very difficult to do the same, within the limits of a paper, in relation to Orthodox worship and spirituality. The extent and the importance of the subject delineate the limitations of this paper.

The criticisms addressed by Adolf Harnack against our Church about traditionalism, intellectualism and ritualism are well known. At certain points in his lectures the German scholar comes to the conclusion that Orthodoxy is a 'natural religion,' a 'cult,' and that almost nothing of the Gospel of Jesus remains in it. Today, however, particularly in ecumenical circles, the Orthodox often listen to Protestant leaders expressing their appreciation for the contribution of Orthodox worship in keeping religion alive in the midst of many difficulties, in assuring to the Orthodox Church an admirable coherence and a sense of strength in a continuity through the ages. It is evident that these different appreciations of Orthodox worship and spirituality come from different approaches to the issue. Both, however, can contribute to a more balanced and objective view of the subject. Unfortunately, the Orthodox faced Harnack in a very defensive and apologetic way, and therefore did not draw any benefit from some of his very penetrating and sound remarks. I am not taking up Harnack's criticisms in developing my ideas on the subject for the following reasons: (a) biblical erudition today is different from that of two generations ago on several important points (today we do not accept Harnack's definition of the Gospel of Jesus, and he would not fully subscribe to what was previously presented as the content and vision of biblical worship and spirituality); (b) a different appreciation of symbolical language and act has developed in recent philosophy and art; and (c) I do not want to get into trivial apologetics at so critical a time for our Church. I would myself magnify, though reluctantly, the dark spots and deficiencies of my Mother Church, out of love for Her,

rather than think it my duty to defend Her at all costs and to apologize for Her.

An Orthodox biblical scholar who has lived Orthodox worship and spirituality from within and who has done some study in the history of the liturgical forms and books as well as of the different aspects of spirituality, has no difficulty in realizing that at the foundations of Orthodox worship and spirituality we have biblical content and vision. It is not possible here to go into detail. We can only give some examples: whether we deal with the yearly or the daily cycle of worship and devotion, or with the Divine Liturgy, the Services of Baptism, Unction, Marriage, Ordination or Funerals, we always stand on solid biblical foundations. The main points of reference are Creation and Redemption in Jesus Christ, the actualization of the salvific event in the present, and the turning of attention to future fulfillment. The faithful are incessantly invited to live up to the standard of Christ, even by imitating a Saint who is an imitator of Christ. Orthodoxy has inherited this foundation from the early centuries of the life of the Church, along with much of Jewish and Hellenistic symbolism and imagery. Church architectural styles and painting inherited from the early Church and the Byzantine periods express in a marvelous way the communion of the Saints, the wholeness and togetherness of the people of God of all ages, as well as martyrdom and non-worldliness—this strong eschatological accent so important for Orthodox worship and spirituality. Not only the figures painted on the walls of Orthodox churches, the Prophets around Christ, the Apostles who are painted on the cupola, the Martyrs and Hosioi (anchorites or ascetic persons), male and female, but also the Saints, whose memory is celebrated every day from the Menaia, are people of the same fellowship. One could add here the influence on Orthodox spirituality of the evangelical social message of the Three Great Hierarchs (Basil, Gregory Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom), as well as of the monastic Cenobion and the non-worldly ascetic man. Here one finds oneself in the atmosphere of prophetic biblical spirituality.

It would be an important omission not to mention the abundant use of scriptural texts in the services as well as the influence of biblical language in general on the language of worship. It is almost impossible to speak of liturgical language,

particularly in what pertains to the more ancient texts, without biblical language being somehow involved.

All these facts and many more can be cited in support of the view that biblical content and vision have been preserved at the foundations of Orthodox worship and spirituality. We speak of foundations because, as would be expected, counterforces have been at work influencing our worship and spirituality throughout the long centuries of our Church history, full of hardships and adventures. What follows is more or less a reference to concrete historical realities, other than the power of time itself, which can be considered as responsible for changes, additions, omissions, extensions and new interpretations of the older, fundamentally biblical liturgical and spiritual inheritance in such a way that the Orthodox Christian of today has the feeling that, whatever the foundation, he actually lives within a liturgical and spiritual mosaic made up of several elements not in accordance with each other. Naturally, the following remarks are not exhaustive; they seek only to start discussion on the subject. Another important warning: when one speaks of changes, additions, extensions and new interpretations one does not necessarily mean either corruption in all cases or just a simple change in the form in all cases. Each case has to be examined by itself, in its own historical context, in order to be truly assessed. Here reference is made only to general historical factors which one way or another influenced, more or less, the blossoming of the fundamentally biblical character of our worship and spirituality.

Out of the Greek experience, for instance, one could start referring to the problem of language, by which is meant: (a) the fact that for Greek Orthodox the language of worship and even typical expressions of traditional spirituality have for centuries been incomprehensible or almost incomprehensible for the common people, and (b) that the Jewish and Hellenistic symbolism used by the early Church as a language, in speech or message, to convey its liturgical or spiritual activity or its message, long ago ceased to be understood in its exact, original meaning. Therefore, new interpretations became necessary, and everybody knows what the results of new interpretations may be. I will refer by way of illustration only to two examples: (a) John Chrysostom would not have interpreted the Divine

Liturgy the way Symeon of Thessalonike did, and (b) the common churchgoer in my country today has a very personal and individual interpretation of what is going on in services like Baptism, the Eucharist, and so on. Again speaking in general, I would say that during the Byzantine period the interpretations of liturgical, symbolic language took place on a higher intellectual and theological level. Their presuppositions, however, were less on the side of the horizontal, covenant-centered biblical perspective and more on the vertical dimension of 'theoretical life.' This kind of interpretation continues to exercise some influence upon more sophisticated Orthodox intellectuals. In the post-Byzantine period motives of the popular religion have more or less influenced the spiritual understanding of liturgical and spiritual symbolism.

Among theological specialists and non-specialists the problem of the influence of Hellenistic philosophy on Christianity has been thoroughly discussed, and the existing variety of views on this subject is well known. Whatever might have been, it is true that Christianity, in confrontation with the philosophical schools of the ancient world, soon presented itself as the 'true philosophy' in the sense in which philosophy was understood in the early centuries of our era. This did not leave the spirituality of the Church unaffected. The Evagrius School, for instance, and its neo-platonic followers and further exponents throughout the Byzantine period made the notion of 'mind' or 'logos' central; they tried to give a more or less systematic and unified explanation of the universe, out of which our relations to the world were determined—on the whole, relations 'negative' towards the world. This turning away from history to 'logos' was not without consequences in the understanding of liturgical, symbolic language as well as on spirituality. Even the Makarios School, which centered on the 'heart,' started with our relations and did not attempt unified explanations of the cosmos, also found its followers during the Byzantine period. However, even this spiritual tendency, though *prima facie* undoubtedly more biblical than the first one, put the particular accent on the individual rather than on the communal and eschatological aspects of spirituality. These latter aspects were not, of course, totally missing from this particular vein of our spiritual tradition.

These kinds of spirituality exercised more influence on the higher social and intellectual levels and less on the lower ones. A third school of spirituality, that of evangelical Orthodoxy, represented by the Three Hierarchs, found more imitators and exercised a strong influence on the higher as well as on the popular levels. This type of spirituality has taken over various elements from various schools of experience; its main tone, however, remains judgment on the world, purity of heart, and the practical applications of the Gospel according to the needs of humanity.

It seems rather certain that less biblico-horizontal, covenant-centered, and more psychological aspects of liturgical spirituality were developed by the Byzantine, Greek and Russian Orthodox—a fact which might, of course, be variously evaluated. It was no doubt a matter of emphasis, with some consequences, however, on the notions of ‘people of God,’ ‘koinonia,’ ‘community of Saints,’ and the like. The accent was less on the collectiveness and participation in the Kingdom of God, and more on the immortality of the soul and the needs of either the empire or the individual in the difficulties of everyday life. The cultivation of very subtle methods of getting deep into one’s soul produced a glorious liturgical and spiritual literature. Without disparaging, but only attempting an explanation, one could say that a refined Orthodox spiritual aristocracy defended itself against the pressures of life and the empire by going deep into man’s soul. Instead of fighting, defense was preferred. From this spiritual aristocracy the Church leaders were selected. On the other side were the rank and file of common Orthodox Christians, the uneducated clergy and the lay people. It is a pity that we do not have a detailed history of the development of the Orthodox *iconostasis*, or the *synthronon*, or the separation of certain sacraments from the eucharistic community, and so on. The ancient tradition about the meaning of Christ’s Death and Resurrection survived. One cannot, however, miss some new accents side by side with the old ones: the Death and the Resurrection of Christ mean the abolition of death and accentuate the immortality of the individual. According to the ‘spiritual’ interpretations which prevailed in certain very refined Orthodox circles, Christ’s Death was understood mainly as fighting against the ‘passions’ of the soul and the

'desires of the flesh,' and His Resurrection as the realization of divine 'virtues,' of *theosis*, in the particular sense of participating in the joys of Heaven already in this life by vision and ecstasy. It was very fortunate that throughout Orthodox Church history the prestige of the synthetic and balanced spirituality of the Three Great Hierarchs remained very high. As a counter-movement to the above-mentioned psychological-spiritualizing tendencies, there must also be considered the continuation of the unbroken tradition of the ancient 'cenobion' upon the soul of the faithful as well as the social concern shown by several monasteries. One can see in all these complex spiritual elements how biblical content and vision were in balance.

The empire and the religion of the Byzantine or post-Byzantine peasant, Greek or Russian, were factors which could possibly jeopardize the biblical emphasis in Orthodox worship and spirituality. Public worship during the empire—again, Greek or Russian—became a function of the state and still with some of us remains so. Empires and states are historically necessary secular products. Of course, Christ remained always the Head of His Church and above any empire or state. This is the theory, as far as the world is concerned, because in practice Christ finally became the servant of the empire or state, without any protest on the part of His Church. Moreover, there are some Orthodox Churches today which feel at a loss without the support of the State. It has become a tradition that the 'people of God' and the 'nation' have become identical. We do not know what new developments are at work in the Eastern socialist countries, where the constitution acknowledges the separation of Church and State. Of course, all this does not mean that everything is wrong with the empire or the state. We have several instances from the past and present when the State has been in the right and the Church leadership in the wrong. An Orthodox Christian cannot deny the presence of Christ or the Holy Spirit in what is usually called 'secular.' The objection here on biblical principles is the subjugation of Christian doctrine, worship and spirituality to the objectives of the empire or state, and the transformation of our worship and spirituality into spiritual forces for the integration of the empire or the state. There is nothing wrong in the coop-

eration of the Church with the State in matters related to national, social or world problems. On the contrary, the Church should—in the proper way—take initiatives for every good cause, for justice, peace, loving-kindness, and so on, even national defense, if need be. But all these should be done in freedom, as a fruit of the Spirit, out of the Church's own spiritual treasure. To put the objection in simpler words, an example from the Greek experience will be cited. My memory cannot single out even one case where on a great national, social or international issue my Church has expressed a different view from that of the government! We cannot elaborate more on the subject here. Everybody understands what might happen to worship and spirituality if they are not the free expression of the Spirit of Christ, constituting the Church, but in one way or another are openly or surreptitiously so influenced by other factors—factors usually hidden behind pseudo-spiritual intentions—for the service not of the Kingdom of God, but of unjust, national, economic and social interests. The biblical foundations of Orthodox worship and spirituality do not allow for such practices. Several explanations for the 'activism' of the Western Churches and the 'theoretical vision' of the Eastern Church have been proposed by our theologians. To the correct ones the following should at least be added: the Orthodox Church has great possibilities for social action because of the fundamentally biblical content and vision of its worship and spirituality. The social activity that has or has not been exercised has been determined by the Church's relation to the State. The latter, according to the Byzantine model which has come down to modern times, was invested with the sacred concern for the 'earthly,' while the Church was limited to concern for the 'heavenly.'

The popular religion of the rank and file of the ancient world, after their mass entrance into the Church, was treated in a spirit of tolerance and pedagogy. This originally meant an incessant effort on the part of the Church for assimilation, re-interpretation and integration of elements spiritually not akin to Her original mission. This was a necessary, painful and also dangerous missionary enterprise. Without a Church which is always theologically strong and spiritually alert, without particular concern and care for the quality of the Christian

spiritual life of the common people, the reappearance of the phenomenon of 'natural religion,' masked as Christian, would be inevitable. In its original view on the whole matter the Church did not act against Her biblical content and vision. One should always hope for the better, yet be always ready to face the worst. The weakening of the Church because of this or that historical reason can lead to the predominance of many elements of popular natural religion. This is a commonplace attestation in the history of the Church. Let me just give one or two examples from the religious experience of Greece to substantiate my feelings of anxiety. All the services of the Church, all the liturgical texts have in the process of time been augmented for two reasons: (a) the Church in the world accepted, in the late Byzantine period, the monastic *Typikon*, which is very long and is full of repetitions (the confusion that has been hereby created, particularly for our urban societies, is indescribable); (b) the everyday needs of the common people have made the *Euchologion* of the Church a very bulky book. Secondary things take priority in these situations and the primary are pushed back. All over Greece, churches dedicated to the Prophets and great men of the Old Testament, to the Apostles, to the Apostle Paul who evangelized the country, or to the great Fathers of the Church are very rare. The popular saints, male or female, which respond to popular tradition, or to this or that 'natural' need, are the ones particularly honored. All over the country, but particularly on the islands, one can make a vow and pay for the performance of a Divine Liturgy without attending the Liturgy, although presence is desired. The whole fabric of popular religion in Greece has given to several people from abroad (sociologists, philosophers, men of letters, and so on)—people having no access to the fundamentally biblical tradition of our Church—the impression that the ancient Greek gods live on with Christian names.

Some change came about during the last hundred years by the experience of a spiritual and to some extent liturgical revival undertaken by the 'Zoe' movement. It sought the cleansing of Orthodox worship from many superfluous and unnecessary features, as well as a new interpretation of liturgical symbolism. These were tried on the ground of a systematic theological principle but more or less unconsciously and as immediate

results of other activities. The whole accent of the movement, however, was individualistic and moralistic in character. The Divine Liturgy meant to us always a stage in the march towards the Kingdom of God, but this stage was related more to a program of moral perfection, and the Kingdom of Christ meant our being united with Him in an individualistic sense.

Such movements of renewal made their appearance at the turn of the century in almost all Orthodox countries. In Greece its influence was deeper in the cities than in the larger agrarian part of the country. It was obstructed by the bishops, and even the government did not look upon it favorably, though it was a politically conservative movement. Now the movement is deteriorating for many reasons, and the 'popular religion' of the Greek rank and file has not only definitely become a folkloristic element for the Greek intellectual, but has in the last generation received severe blows from secularism, technology and the mass media. Alleluia! Finally, we come to the end.

If any conclusions were expected from this paper, they would probably be the following: (a) The Orthodox Church must go through the experience of a biblical revival. As a result of strenuous and serious study of the Bible by our theologians, our people will be educated to understand the fundamentally biblical content and vision of our worship and spirituality. The 'biblical movement' in the Roman Catholic Church is very instructive in this respect. (b) This could lead to a renewal of liturgy and spirituality. Primary things will be interpreted and lived as such, and the rest in the present confusing mosaic will be integrated through right interpretation, according to the original biblical content and vision of our worship and spirituality. (c) There are no model periods in the history of Orthodoxy. We are in march towards the Kingdom. What we experience along the way is the reality of this Kingdom with ups and downs consistent with our human nature. From this point of view, the fourth and fifth centuries in the history of our Church (ecumenical, cosmopolitan, missionary, creative), have been generally recognized as a 'golden era.' Our knowledge of the period has taught us that it was not at all a paradise. It was, however, a great period, particularly for its ingenuity in the effort of integrating various elements of a religious kind

into the Apostolic tradition of the Church without betraying the Faith. I think that parallel to a biblical revival, our Church needs more initiation into that particular creative ingenuity. Various liturgical traditions and spiritual currents, influences of the empire and the state, influences of popular religion, the inheritance of the past, as well as new liturgical and spiritual needs of the revolutionary time in which we live, must all be coordinated, re-evaluated and integrated into one whole. Bible and tradition in this sense will lead us out of the present deadlock. (d) Last but not least, because the subject of this paper is so broad and touches generally on spiritual life, it must be pointed out that any dialogue with other ideologies, particularly Marxism, cannot be carried out in our unified world today, even for us Orthodox, except on the basis of the Bible and the biblical content and vision of our worship and spirituality. Our dogmaticians, canonists and church historians, who up to now represent the attitude of Orthodoxy towards itself and the world, must start learning anew their Bible. Otherwise, they are in serious danger of being irrelevant.

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STEPHEN GERO

THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND THE WEST: A SURVEY OF RECENT RESEARCH

Instead of the somewhat arbitrary limits 500-1500 A.D. the period here covered will be defined as 451-1484—the first being the date of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon, the ‘western’ aspects of which hardly need comment, and the latter, 1484, the date of that local council in Constantinople at which the leaders of the Greek church officially renounced the union of Florence. ‘Recent research’ will be defined as material published after the appearance of Hans-Georg Beck’s *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), the standard modern reference work on Byzantine church history and ecclesiastical literature. It should perhaps be explicitly stated that the encounter of Byzantine and Latin Christianity in Slavic lands will be excluded from this survey, as will the whole problem of eastern influences on western medieval heretical movements—these are matters of such importance and bibliographical complexity that they should be covered in separate treatments.

First, I will note some works which span the whole or most of the period under consideration. Apropos volume IV of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1966-67), which is devoted to the Byzantine Empire: as it is well known, this massive work is very uneven in quality, and in particular certain aspects of Byzantine church history and doctrine are handled in an inadequate fashion. The bibliography is extensive but at times too cumbersome and indiscriminating. The work in no way supplants Beck’s *magnum opus*. Beck’s monograph has, however, been supplemented by his own several contributions to the multi-volume *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (ed. H. Jedin, vol. II/2, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Grossen . . . Die*

*This paper is a revised and expanded version of a contribution to the panel discussion *Recent Research on Byzantium and the West, 500-1500 A.D.* at the New England Medieval Conference, Wellesley, Massachusetts, October 8-9, 1977.

Abbreviations: *AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana*, *IS* = *Italia Sacra*, *JÖB* = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *JÖBG* = *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, *OCP* = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, *REB* = *Revue des études byzantines*, *SCH* = *Studies in Church History*.

Kirche in Ost und West von Chalkedon bis zum Frühmittelalter zur gregorianischen Reform [1966], pp. 31-61, 197-218, 462-484; vol. III/2, *Die mittelalterliche Kirche . . . Vom kirchlichen Hochmittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Reformation* [1968], pp. 144-67, 589-624). One should also mention George Every's *Misunderstandings between East and West* (London, 1965), a brief but solid, historically-oriented treatment of the major issues such as the date of the schism, the Trinitarian question, and the authority of the state in ecclesiastical affairs, as well as the chapter entitled "The Challenge of the Latin Church" in Jaroslav Pelikan's remarkable survey of doctrinal history, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* (Chicago and London, 1974). On the pivotal issue for East-West relations one has the late Francis Dvornik's *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966), which covers the period from Chalcedon to 1204; this can be supplemented by John Meyendorff's selective analysis of later material ("St. Peter in Byzantine Theology," in J. Meyendorff *et. al.*, *The Primacy of Peter* [Leighton Buzzard, 1963], pp. 7-29).

The first chronological unit is the post-Chalcedonian period, from 451 to the final settling of the monothelite controversy at the beginning of the eighth century. Incidentally, the latter part of this era has been called by Walter Ullmann, in a picturesque but somewhat inaccurate fashion, the "Byzantine captivity" of the papacy (*A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* [London, 1972], p. 58). W. H. C. Frend's major monograph, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972), gives a detailed account of imperial relations with the papacy, in particular during the Acacian schism, the first official split between the Byzantine and Roman churches. In a recent suggestive article Frend has returned to the delineation of the schism, and concludes that the East did not view the whole matter in terms of papal jurisdiction but rather in purely doctrinal terms ("Eastern Attitudes to Rome during the Acacian Schism," *SCH* 13 [1976], 68-81). The ecclesiastical policies of Justinian have been investigated in a study by Evangelos R. Chrysos (Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔρω περὶ τὰ τρία κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν ἐοικυμενικὴν σύνοδον [Thessalonike, 1969]). Next one should note the appearance of the critical edition of the Acts of the council of 553 (J. Straub,

Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, IV/1 [Berlin, 1971]). There is now a good narrative account of the council available in F. X. Murphy and P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III* (Paris, 1973). A new monograph by Engelbert Zettl (*Die Bestätigung des V. Ökumenischen Konzils durch Papst Vigilius* [Bonn, 1974]) is devoted to the demonstration of the genuineness of two documents attributed to Pope Vigilius, one of which is found in *Parisinus graecus* 1115, a famous MS which claims to be a copy of a codex written in Rome in the year 759. An interesting study by Averil Cameron based on the western, Latin sources gives a revisionist interpretation of Justin II's religious policy, as having been more pro-Chalcedonian from the outset than is often supposed ("The Early Religious Policies of Justin II," *SCH* 13 [1976], 51-67). The eastern attitudes to the papacy are thoroughly documented in a monograph by Luigi Magi from official correspondence such as is found in the *Collectio Avellana* (*La sede romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini (VI-VII sec.)*) [Louvain, 1972]). Peter Llewellyn in his book *Rome in the Dark Ages* (New York-Washington, 1971) gives a good account of Byzantine-papal relations during the same period of the 'captivity' (pp. 141-72), to be supplemented by his article "The Roman Church on the Outbreak of Iconoclasm," in A. Bryer and J. Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 29-34. Christoph von Schönborn, elaborating Dvornik's work on the primacy, analyzes the appeal to Rome from the eastern patriarchs during the seventh century ("La primauté romaine vue d'Orient pendant la querelle du monoénergisme et du monothélisme," *Istina* 20 (1975), 476-90). Last, as a welcome contrast to the somewhat exclusive attention paid to Rome in this period by students of Byzantine Italy, I want to note a very interesting monograph by André Guillou, in which he studies the influence of the Greek rite in Ravenna during the seventh and early eighth centuries, and demonstrates the close collaboration between the Greco-Latin ruling clerical class and the Byzantine authorities in the struggle against Roman hegemony (*Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* [Rome, 1969], esp. pp. 167-79).

Turning now to the eighth and early ninth centuries, i.e., the period of iconoclasm and the Frankish-papal alliance, one

must first of all note the major study by Jean Gouillard which conclusively demonstrates the inauthenticity of the two famous letters of Pope Gregory II to the emperor Leo III ("Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II?" *Travaux et mémoires* 3 [1968], 243-307), a study the results of which have not yet become adequately known among western medievalists (e.g., Ullmann, *A Short History* . . . still uses the letters up to the hilt [pp. 72ff.]). On the papal realignment one can refer to new studies by David H. Miller ("Byzantine-Papal Relations during the Pontificate of Paul I: Confirmation and Completion of the Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 [1975], 47-62; "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century: A Study of the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and Alliance with the Franks," *Mediaeval Studies* 36 [1974], 79-133). Miller's work, though useful for matters of detail, is not entirely convincing in its claim that the idea of heretical Byzantium no longer being part of the New Israel was the key to the papal justification of the Frankish alliance. Apropos the Donation of Constantine, generally admitted to be a production of this period (now available in H. Fuhrmann's new edition, *Das Constitutum Constantini (Konstantinische Schenkung) Text* [Hannover, 1968]), one should note Werner Ohnsorge's bold thesis that Pope Leo III was himself the author of the *Greek* original, copies of which are still extant in *Vaticanus graecus* 81 and 1115 ("Das Constitutum Constantini und seine Entstehung," in his *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt, 1966], pp. 93-102.) This thesis is rejected by Peter Classen in his contribution to a well-known collective work on Charlemagne ("Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse*, I [Düsseldorf, 1965], 567). The contention, important for Ohnsorge, that Leo was from southern Italy and learned in Greek has been demolished by Hans-Georg Beck ("Die Herkunft des Papstes Leo III," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 [1969], 131-39). The study of the *Libri Carolini*, the major western response to the doctrine of image-worship elaborated at the Council of Nicaea in 787, has been put on a more secure footing by Luitpold Wallach's and Anne Freeman's detailed philological investigations and Freeman's cogent and now generally accepted demonstration that Theodulf of Orléans was the

author. In a more recent article the present writer has attempted to show that the *Libri* depend on a series of *extracts* from the Latin translation of the Acts of 787, not on the complete text ("The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17 [1973], 7-34, with references to Freeman's and Wallach's articles). On the Byzantine appeals to the papacy during the iconoclastic period by iconophile churchmen, in particular the patriarch Nikephoros and Theodore the Studite, one can refer to a monograph by Patrick O'Connell (*The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I (758-828), Patriarch of Constantinople* [Rome, 1972]), to be complemented by Gouillard's excellent analysis ("L'Eglise d'Orient et la primauté romaine au temps de l'iconoclasme," *Istina* 21 [1976], 25-54).

After the liquidation of iconoclasm comes the period of the patriarch Photios and the first serious clash between the papacy and the now doctrinally reunited Byzantine Church. Francis Dvornik's well-known re-evaluation of the sources pertaining to Photios' career and his relation with the papacy (*The Photian Schism* [Cambridge, 1948]) is accepted by Hans Grotz in his recent biography of Pope Hadrian II (*Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II (867-872) und seine Zeit* [Wien-Köln-Graz, 1970]; see also the same author's useful bibliographical survey "Die Zeit Papst Hadrians II (867-872) und der Anfang des Photianischen Schismas im Spiegel der Geschichtsliteratur (1880-1966)," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 90 [1968], 40-60, 177-94). Dvornik's negative evaluation of all the sources unfavorable to Photios is in one specific case corrected, in Joseph L. Wieczynsky's study of the patriarch's negotiations with Pope Nicholas' opponents ("The Anti-Papal Conspiracy of the Patriarch Photius in 867," *Byzantine Studies* 1 [1974], 180-89). Daniel Stiernon's account of the fourth council of Constantinople (869) emphasizes the positive aspects of this gathering and is occasionally critical of Dvornik (*Constantinople IV* [Paris, 1967]). Turning from ecclesiastical politics to historical theology, one should signal the appearance of a monograph by Richard Haugh on the *filioque* controversy up to and including Photios' own work (*Photios and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* [Belmont, Mass., 1975]); the book is quite reliable, useful in its exposition of detail, though it hardly heralds any new breakthrough in the interpretation of the material.

No recent major work on the period between Photios and the thirteenth century can be signaled; the schism of 1054, supposed or real, though the subject of several older monographs, has not attracted much scholarly attention in the past couple of decades. Coming then to the period of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, we have of course the most obvious instance of Greek-Latin contact, though of a more temporary nature than in southern Italy. In the first place one should note the appearance of the initial installment of an encyclopedic survey, by Giorgio Fedalto, devoted to the Latin ecclesiastical establishment in the East, a work primarily concerned with fundamental matters of prosopography and ecclesiastical geography (*La chiesa latina in oriente*, vol. I [Verona, 1973]). To be sure, much of Fedalto's book repeats material already published by him elsewhere (e.g., "Patrasso città degli arcivescovi latini . . . tra i secoli XIII e XV," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 8-9 [1971-72], 127-70; "Il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli (1204-1261)," *Studia Patavina* 18 [1971], 390-464). Fedalto has also written studies of the Latin church in Thessalonike and Athens ("La chiesa latina nel regno di Tessalonica 1204-1224, 1423-1430," ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ 41 [1974], 82-102; "La chiesa latina di Atene e la sua provincia ecclesiastica 1204-1456," ΘΗΣΑΥΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ 11 [1974], 73-88). On the organization of the Latin church in Athens see also Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant* (1204-1571), vol. I, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1976), 405-40. In the area of more interpretative research I would note an article by Joseph Gill which attempts to place in perspective Pope Innocent III's emphasis on the oath of obedience to the seeming neglect of more fundamental questions of doctrine ("Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?" in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker [Edinburgh, 1973], pp. 95-108). Then there is a very interesting article by Brenda M. Bolton on the Cistercians in the Latin empire ("A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania," *SCH* 13 [1976], 169-81); utilizing Elizabeth A. R. Brown's earlier study ("The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece 1204-1276," *Traditio* 14 [1958], 63-120), Bolton points out that the foundations of the order were along the coastline only,

and made use of previously Greek monastic buildings; no new houses were established in Byzantine territory—a fact hardly consonant with the supposed pioneer spirit of the order.

The next milestone in Byzantine-Latin relations is the second council of Lyons, 1274. Much progress can be registered here. First there is a major monograph by Burkhard Roberg on the union negotiated at the council—a matter which, incidentally, was only part of the agenda (*Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon* (1274) [Bonn, 1964]). Roberg has a very instructive appendix on the whole Greek-Latin language situation during the thirteenth-century negotiations (pp. 248-63). There is a useful, more popular account in H. Wolter and H. Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris, 1966), pp. 131-226. Next, one should note the appearance of the critical edition of the main Latin source for the proceedings of the council, the so-called *Ordinatio* (the official acts are lost). The edition is based primarily on *Ottobonianus latinus* 2520; the other codices, as the editor shows, represent inferior recensions (A. Franchi, *Il concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio Concilii Generalis Lugdunensis* [Rome, 1965]). J. Gill has published several important *inedita* (from *Chisianus graecus* 54 and *Alexandrinus graecus* 182) pertaining to the council, including documents indicating official Byzantine ecclesiastical approval of the union, and an imperial chrysobull ("The church union of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents," *OCP* 40 [1974], 5-45). Two chapters are devoted to the council and its historical setting in Setton's *The Papacy and the Levant . . .* (pp. 106-139). A recent article by Deno J. Geanakoplos shows that the role of Bonaventura has been exaggerated and that the intellectual architects of the union were the Franciscan friars John Parastron and Jerome Ascoli ("Bonaventure, the two mendicant orders, and the Greeks at the council of Lyons (1274)," *SCH* 13 [1976], 183-211). Studies by Donald M. Nicol on the preliminaries and the aftermath of the council are useful for some matters of detail ("The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: the Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons 1261-1274," *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, ed. J. A. Watt *et al.* [Dublin, 1961], pp. 454-80; "The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274," *SCH* 7 [1971], 113-46; both

articles are reprinted in the same author's *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world* [London, 1972]).

Next comes the council of Florence (1438-39), at which the official reunion of the Greek and Latin churches was accomplished. The major publishing event, so to speak, in this connection is the appearance of Vitalien Laurent's critical edition of the memoirs of Syropoulos, the most important anti-unionist Greek source (*Les mémoires du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Eglise de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)* [Paris, 1971]). The most prolific scholar in this area, however, is J. Gill, to whom we owe the major monograph on the council (*The Council of Florence* [Cambridge, 1959]), as well as the edition of the so-called *Acta graeca* and other texts. The ecclesiology of the council fathers, with particular attention to the notion of tradition and the primacy, is studied by August Leidl (*Die Einheit der Kirchen auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien von Konstanz bis Florenz* [Paderborn, 1966], pp. 91ff.). Among Deno J. Geanakoplos' studies devoted to Florence one should note a chapter in *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 84-111, and, in his most recent book, a chapter on the possible importance of the Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena in the actual negotiations (*Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* [New Haven and London, 1976], pp. 213-24). It is rather important to recognize that the primacy question played much less of a role than the student of the conciliar period would expect; this has been pointed out in articles by Gill ("The definition of the primacy of the pope in the Council of Florence," *The Heythrop Journal* 2 [1961], 14-29) and Nicol ("The Papal Scandal," *SCH* 13 [1976], 141-68). Gill's article appears also in his *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 264-86.

The changes in the attitude toward the question of union held by George Scholarios, who signed at Florence but later became an arch-antiunionist and the first patriarch under Ottoman rule, is carefully investigated in articles by G. J. C. Turner ("George-Gennadius Scholarius and the Union of Florence," *The Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 18 [1967], 83-103;

"The career of George-Gennadius Scholarius," *Byzantion* 39 [1969], 420-55), extracts from the author's unpublished Cambridge thesis. Scholarios, as it is well known, was a leading intellectual of his time; in a perceptive article Gerhard Podskalsky studies Scholarios' by no means uniformly negative reaction to Thomistic thought ("Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios (ca. 1403-1472)," *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974], 305-23). The whole topic of the views held by Byzantine intellectuals on Thomas' work, after this has been made accessible in Greek translation, is studied in an important article by Stylianos G. Papadopoulos ("Thomas in Byzanz. Thomas-Rezeption und Thomas-Kritik in Byzanz zwischen 1354 und 1435," *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974], 274-304) which summarizes the salient results of his monograph on the subject (Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις Θωμιστικῶν ἔργων. Φιλοθωμισταὶ καὶ ἀντιθωμισταὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ [Athens, 1967]). Papadopoulos has also recently edited the lengthy anti-Thomistic work of the fourteenth-century hesychast Kallistos Angelikudes (Καλλίστου Ἀγγελικούδη κατὰ Θωμᾶ Ἀκινάτου [Athens, 1970]).

To round out the story chronologically: on the Greek church after 1453 one should of course signal Sir Steven Runciman's *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), in particular the chapter devoted to the continued union efforts by Rome (pp. 226-31) wherein a brief account is given of the council of 1484 under the patriarch Symeon. Apropos this work regrettably one must agree with the contention of Otto Kresten's review of the German translation, namely, that it does not represent a veritable history of the Greek patriarchate during the *Turkokratia* but is rather an essayistic presentation in which facts are drowned in a sea of anecdotes and deformed by myriad errors of detail (*JÖB* 22 [1973], 359-63).

Much recent progress can be registered in the area of the edition and analysis of anti-Latin Byzantine theological works, both of a learned and of a more popular sort, texts which reflect in various ways the genuine disagreements and grievances as well as the misconceptions and prejudices which led to estrangement and formal schism. From material of the first kind I will note the editions of an account of the dialogue on the Roman primacy between a Greek monk and the papal

legate Peter Thomas in 1357 (J. Darrouzès, "Conférence sur le primauté du pape à Constantinople en 1357," *REB* 19 [1961], 76-101), and of another dialogue which interestingly purports to reproduce the arguments of the retired emperor-monk John Kantakuzenos presented to the papal legate and titular Latin patriarch Paul (J. Meyendorff, "Projet du Concile Oecuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 [1960], 147-77). An earlier eleventh-century text on the problem of the azymes, the Latin use of unleavened bread, written by the liturgical commentator Nicholas of Andida has been recently published (J. Darrouzès, "Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes," *REB* 32 [1974], 199-210). From popular 'hate' literature I will first note the list of no less than 104 Latin errors and crimes compiled by the thirteenth-century bishop Constantine Stilbes, a work which has been recently reedited (J. Darrouzès, "Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les latins," *REB* 21 [1963], 50-100). Geanakoplos has analyzed another 'popular' dialogue which well illustrates the hatred and bigotry of the masses in the capital at the time of the Council of Lyons (*Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures* . . . , pp. 156-70).

I have left until now a survey of studies devoted to the major geographical area where Byzantine and Latin culture overlapped, namely, southern Italy. Byzantine Italy is the object of many specialized publications and there have been perhaps more congresses devoted to it than to any other facet of Byzantine studies; e.g., there was a congress in Bari in 1969 on the topic of the Greek church in medieval and Renaissance Italy, a congress the published proceedings of which come to almost 1500 pages! To a large extent the reason for the vitality of Italo-Greek studies, besides intrinsic interest, is of course the patriotic pride taken by Italian scholars in what is considered part of the native heritage; but, on the whole, their work is quite excellent, certainly much better than that of many other groups of 'local' historians. But perhaps the best and certainly the most prolific scholar in this area is the French Byzantinist André Guillou to whom, *inter alia*, we owe many editions of important monastic documents and studies of Byzantine religious life, which cannot all be listed here (see, e.g., reprints of several articles in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* [London, 1970] and *Les*

Actes grecs de S. Maria de Messina. Enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du sud et de Sicile (XI^e-XIV^e s.) [Palermo, 1963]).

As it is well known, the history of the Hellenized population of southern Italy in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages is quite obscure, and various adventurous hypotheses have been put forth concerning radical demographic shifts at the time of the Muslim conquest and afterwards, between Sicily, Calabria and Byzantine areas in the East, shifts in which monks supposedly played an important role (e.g., L. R. Ménager, "La byzantinisation religieuse d'Italie méridionale (IX^e-XII^e siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53 [1958], 747-74; 54 [1959], 1-40; criticized by V. Peri, "Alle origini dell'Ellenismo nella Sicilia," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 [1966], 260-68). On the relatively autonomous pre-Norman ecclesiastical organization see Vitalien Laurent, "L'église d'Italie méridionale entre Rome et Byzance à la veille de la conquête normande," *IS* 20 (1973), 5-24. On Greek monasticism before the Norman conquest one has a good synthesis by Silvano Borsari (*Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormane* [Naples, 1963]); for the period of the conquest in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is a more recent study by Jean Décarreaux (*Normands papes et moines. Cinquante ans de conquêtes et de politique religieuse en Italie méridionale et en Sicile* [Paris, 1974], pp. 71-106). One should note also Evelyn Patlagean's useful survey, "Recherches récentes et perspectives sur l'histoire du monachisme italo-grec," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 22(1968), 146-66. On a more 'ideological' level there is an interesting study by Patlagean devoted to a group of Greek saints' lives (*Vitae* of Pancratius of Taormina, Gregory of Agrigento, Grigentius of Taphar) which were written in Rome or southern Italy during the eighth-ninth century period and champion, in a fictional form, the Roman, Petrine claim to primacy, the papal territorial demand for Illyricum and the cause of image worship ("Les moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^e-IX^e siècles)," *Studi medievali*, Seria terza, 5 [1964], 579-602). It is to be noted, however, that Cyril Mango questions several features of the interpretation proposed in Patlagean's study ("La culture grecque et l'occident au

VIII^e siècle," *Settimani di studi del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XX. I problemi dell'occidente nel secolo VIII. 6-12 aprile 1972*, vol. 2 [Spoleto, 1973], 704-708). Despite the loyalty of the Greek church in Italy toward Rome the Greek rite came to be restricted in many ways during the later Middle Ages, as is shown in an important study of canonical sources by Peter Herde ("Das Papsttum und die griechische Kirche in Süditalien vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 26 [1970], 1-46; see also the same author's "Il papato e la chiesa greca nell'Italia meridionale dall'XI al XIII secolo," *IS* 20 [1973], 213-55, together with J. A. Brundage's supplementary communication, "The decretalists and the Greek church of South Italy," *IS* 22 [1973], 1075-81). The decadence of Greek monastic life by the fifteenth century is well documented in the recently published record of the Calabrian inspection tour in the late 1450's of the papal emissary, Athanasios Chalkeopoulos, a former Athonite monk and protégé of Bessarion (M. H. Laurent-A. Guillou, *Le "Liber visitationis" d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457-1458)* [Vatican, 1960]). But during the period of relative vitality the Greek ecclesiastical establishment in southern Italy did not act as an important channel of cultural transmission; in particular South Italian churchmen were ideally suited for conducting union negotiations in Constantinople. Here I would like to draw attention to a major study, by Johannes M. Hoeck and Raimund J. Loenertz, of Nicholas of Otranto, abbot of the Apulian monastery of Casole, who was a member of papal embassies to Constantinople during the period of the Latin empire and was an important translator and controversialist in his own right (*Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole* [Ettal, 1965]).

So much for a look at research into what can be roughly classified as institutional and doctrinal church history. But contacts between Greeks and Latins were more varied, and in closing this survey it will be perhaps constructive to look at some of the less obvious forms, as shown in the areas of hagiography and liturgical texts. First, let us note some translations of saints' lives which show apparent Greek interest in saints of the western church. Paulinus' life of Saint Ambrose was translated into Greek in the ninth or the tenth century (R. McClure,

"The Greek translation of the Vita Ambrosii of Paulinus of Milan," *Sacris Erudiri* 21 [1972/73], 57-70). An account of the discovery of the relics of Gervasius and Protasius, attributed to Ambrose, was also translated into Greek and then used by John of Damascus in the eighth century; the Greek text was recently edited by Michel Aubineau ("Jean Damascène et l'épistula de inventione Gervasii et Protasii attribuée à Ambroise," *AB* 90 [1972], 1-14). In the eighth century Pope Zachary—one of the architects of the Frankish alliance—translated the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great into Greek (Gregory himself, so a recent study argues, may have known more Greek than is generally supposed; see Joan M. Petersen, "Did Gregory the Great know Greek?" *SCH* 13 [1976], 121-34). This translation by Pope Zachary was quite influential in the East, judging from the rich manuscript tradition in Greek and Slavonic (Chr. Hannick, "Die griechische Überlieferung der Dialogi des Papstes Gregorius und ihre Verbreitung bei den Slaven im Mittelalter," *Slovo* 24 [1974], 41-56). It is a matter of some interest that the Greek *Dialogues* are found in the oldest dated Greek manuscript, *Vaticanus graecus* 1666, written in the year 800. The saints commemorated in the *Dialogues* enriched the liturgical calendar of the Byzantine church (W. Lackner, "Westliche Heilige des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts im Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae," *JÖBG* 19 [1970], 185-202) and the account of the vision of Saint Benedict was used by Gregory Palamas in his defense of hesychastic mysticism (E. Lanne, "L'interprétation palamite de la vision de Saint Benoît," in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963-1963*, II [Venice, 1965], 21-47). Nilus of Calabria (tenth century) wrote a liturgical canon on St. Benedict based on the material in the *Dialogues* (O. Rousseau, ed., "La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont-Cassin," *IS* 3 [1973], 1118-1124); Nilus, however, may have used the Latin original.

As a counterweight to the acerbic polemic on questions of liturgical usage, it is interesting to look at some indications of actual liturgical contacts. Many western saints are celebrated in Byzantine liturgical poetry (E. Follieri, "Santi occidentali nell'innografia bizantina," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: L'oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* [Rome, 1965], pp. 251-71). The so-called *Missa Graeca* is comprised

of portions of the Byzantine liturgy, transcribed in Latin characters; this is material that was actually used in the Latin liturgy. Several manuscripts of the *Missa* (some as old as the ninth and tenth centuries) have been recently studied (M. Huglo, "Les chants de la Missa Graeca de Saint Denis," in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup [Oxford, 1966], pp. 74-83; I. Opelt, "Die Essener 'Missa Graeca' der liturgischen Handschrift Düsseldorf D2," *JÖB* 23 [1974], 77-88). The Byzantine liturgy of St. John Chrysostom was translated into Latin by Leo Tuscus; the critical edition has appeared recently (A. Jacob, "La traduction de la liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome par Léo Toscan," *OCP* 32 [1966], 111-62). It is interesting to note perhaps that this translation was undertaken at the request of the Catalan nobleman Ramon of Tortosa (A. Strittmaier, "Notes on Leo Tuscus' Translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom," in *Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda* [New York, 1961], pp. 402-424). The other major Greek liturgy, which goes under the name of St. Basil, was translated by Nicholas of Otranto, mentioned earlier; the Latin text has again been recently edited (A. Jacob, "La traduction de la liturgie de Saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 38 [1967], 49-107). The Akathistos hymn, one of the jewels of Greek liturgical poetry, was translated into Latin in the early ninth century, and it subsequently exercised much influence on poetic forms of medieval Latin devotion to the Virgin, as Gérard G. Meersseman has shown in a major monograph (*Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*, 2 vols. [Freiburg, Switzerland, 1958-1960]). Much of this liturgical material postdates the schism (however one may want to define that event) and its existence illustrates the complexity of the Latin attitude to the Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition—an attitude which was shaped not only by the well-known and undeniable factors of provincialism, intolerance and ignorance but also by the occasional sincere admiration and respect for what was recognized as part of the common precious heritage belonging to all Christendom.

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CATHOLICS OF NAXOS UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

The influence of the Catholic church in the East Mediterranean has been marked by almost continuous decline since the close of the crusading period. The Western Christians, never numerically strong, failed to hold the line against either the Arabs or the Turks, inflamed with the zeal of Islam. Time after time the Latin Christian border was pushed westward until it finally came to rest on a small Greek island in the middle of the Aegean Sea called Naxos. Here from the thirteenth century to the present, an unbroken line of Latin Catholic bishops has held office, giving to the archbishopric of that island a distinction unique among all the other Catholic sees of the Orient. The purpose of this paper is to examine some aspects of Naxian Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which contributed to its survival under Ottoman rule.

Catholicism was, in the beginning, a foreign body on Naxos for no Latin Catholics were on the island until the thirteenth century. In 1207 a raiding party captained by the Venetian Marco Sanudo seized Naxos from Byzantine control in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. Sanudo transformed Naxos and its adjoining islands into a private fiefdom for his family. He founded a new capital, took the title of duke, built a palace and cathedral and requested that a Latin bishop be sent to take up residence there. Pope Innocent III anxious to accommodate him, named an Italian cleric to that office.¹

On Naxos, as on the other Latin-held islands of the Archipelago, the Catholic clergy and the Italian secular authorities formed a political elite that dominated the native Greeks. While This paper was delivered at the Catholic Historical Society's spring meeting at Seton Hall University, 8 April 1978, in a panel on Christianity under the Ottomans.

1. The history of Naxos in the Late Middle Ages can best be gleaned from William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 570-649; Demetrios P. Paschalis, *Ἡ δυτική ἐκκλησία εἰς τὰς κυκλάδες ἐπὶ φραγοκρατίας καὶ τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens, 1948), 9-17, and Kenneth P. Setton, "The Latins in Greece and the Aegean From the Fourth Crusade" in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4 *The Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 1966), 1, 389-429.

the Latin clerics enjoyed the privileges attached to the ruling class, the Greek metropolitan and his priests were treated as second-class citizens. They were required, under the threat of deposition, to acknowledge the Latin bishop as their ecclesiastical superior and to commemorate the pope in Rome during the Eucharist rather than the Byzantine patriarch.

Because of the requirement of celibacy, a constant supply of immigrant priests had to be recruited for Naxos from Italy or from the Greek islands where the Catholic community was large enough to provide native clerics. Before the arrival of the Turks, all of the Catholic bishops of Naxos were Italian-born.

The population of Naxos during its three hundred years of existence under the dukes varied from seven to ten thousand people. The Italian Catholics made up one-tenth of the total. They tended to be an inbred group who lived in the more prosperous sections of the larger towns. Only a few Greek families achieved Latin social status because of wealth, intermarriage or conversion to Catholicism. The island aristocrats derived their support from the labor of peasants who grew grain and tended the large groves of orange and lemon trees scattered through the countryside. A Greek proverb described the feudal economy on Naxos as providing the natives "only a little bread for their stomachs, but a lot of wood for their backs."

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, Naxos and the other islands of the Aegean still held by Christian rulers led a precarious existence, subject to constant raids from Turkish pirates. Their tenuous independence resulted from the Ottoman preoccupation with completing the conquest of the Balkans and the protection offered by the fleets of Venice and the knights of Rhodes. In 1522, a Turkish expedition conquered Rhodes and expelled the Catholic survivors, including the archbishop, who then went to Naxos and settled there in exile. His hosts must have often listened to stories of the total extinction of the Catholic church on Rhodes and wondered if a similar fate was to be theirs.

What everyone feared finally happened fifteen years later, in 1537, when the Naxians woke to find the Turkish fleet of the famous Barbarossa anchored off their island. Duke Giovanni IV Crispo had no choice but to turn over his defenseless island to the Ottoman admiral who accepted it in the name of his

sovereign, Süleyman. In return for a promise of tribute amounting to 5000 gold ducats a year, Giovanni remained in office as the sultan's vassal. The status of the Greek natives changed; henceforth they would be incorporated into the Orthodox nation, or *millet*, established by Sultan Mehmet II for his Eastern Christian subjects. The patriarch of Constantinople recovered his position as the head of their church. Since there was no similar *millet* for Latin Catholics, the status of the Western Christians did not change. Koranic law placed them in the category of foreigners living within the Islamic domain. Latin bishops on Naxos henceforth required a *berat*, a letter of appointment, from the government of the Porte, before they could exercise their office.²

The accession of Selim II, the son of the great Süleyman, determined a new future for Naxos. Sephardic Jews who had come to Istanbul after their expulsion from the West became some of his closest advisors. One of these, Joseph Nasi, Selim wanted to honor with an appropriate office and title. In 1566, an uprising against Duke Giacomo IV, troubled Naxos, giving Selim an excuse to order the Ottoman fleet to proceed to the island and depose its Christian ruler. Joseph Nasi then became duke of Naxos and kept all its revenues for his personal use.

Joseph Nasi held his title for the next thirteen years, but never once personally visited the island. As his representative on Naxos he dispatched a fellow Jew, Francesco Coronello. During his tenure the Venetians and Turks battled over Cyprus. After a landing on Naxos, Coronello fell captive on Crete to the Venetians who temporarily restored the island to Christian rule. Despite the famous Christian naval victory at Lepanto, the exhausted Venetians signed a peace with the Ottomans in 1573 which freed Coronello and restored Naxos to its master in Istanbul.

As long as he could collect a maximum amount of taxes for the duke, Coronello did nothing to disturb the feudal order which so benefited the Catholic landowners on Naxos. They kept their hold on the island's economy, elected their own

2. Ernest Charrière, *Negotiations de la France dans le Levant*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1848-60) 1:371-83; Georg Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia: Naxos in Orientalia Christiana*, 115 (Rome, 1938), 10-11; Massimo Petrocchi, *La Politica della Santa Seda di Fronte all' Invasione ottomana, 1444-1718* (Naples, 1955), pp. 65-66. A biography of Joseph Nasi has been written by C. Roth, *The Duke of Naxos* (Philadelphia, 1948).

community leaders, and followed a Western legal system, the *Assizes of Romania*, which had been in use for centuries. Coronello, not indifferent to church affairs, however, expelled the Catholic archbishop (the title inherited by the Naxian bishop once the see of Rhodes had been abandoned).³

In 1579 Joseph Nasi died and Naxos became a part of the regular Ottoman provincial system. If once a common role as masters of the island had given Catholics a cohesive spirit, so now the challenge of working within the Ottoman system further united them. This strategy succeeded because few Turks cared to live on Naxos, so isolated from the mainstream of Ottoman life. Istanbul sent out a *bey* to represent the sultan's government in administrative matters and a *kadi* to serve as the Muslim judge, but only a handful of Turkish merchants and craftsmen appeared. Once a year the *Kapudan-pasha* of the Archipelago called at Naxos to collect the taxes, which were paid in a lump sum according to the assessments levied by the Christian leaders of the island.

In 1580 Sultan Murat III sent a decree or *firman* to the island to regulate relations between Istanbul and Naxos. The *firman* guaranteed freedom of religion, the right to repair churches and monasteries without prior authorization, and the right to ring church bells. The document governed generously in comparison to the conditions given Christian communities in other parts of the Ottoman world.⁴

The Catholics not only profited from Ottoman indifference to local affairs on Naxos, but obtained positive reinforcement in their favored treatment due to growing French influence in the Ottoman capital. Beginning with a rather informal agreement concluded in 1526 between Francis I and Süleyman, the French and Turks moved to a formal treaty known as the Capitulations of 1569. Among other articles contained in this document, the French had freedom of religion throughout the Ottoman empire. Catholic clergy came to the East without restriction in their ministry to French merchants and diplomatic personnel. The Capitulations gave the Parisian ambassador to the Porte a commanding position in matters involving Catholics in Turkish

3. Georg Hofmann, *La Chiesa Cattolica in Grecia, 1600 - 1830* in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 2 (Rome, 1936), 396; William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 173.

4. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici*, p. 13-15; Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669*, trans. Ian and Phania Moles (New Brunswick, 1976), p. 72.

lands, replacing Venetian and Genoese officials who had previously served, as best they could, in that capacity. When Catholic bishops needed a *berat*, they looked to the French envoy to procure it as well as to provide the fees that were always required to attain any office in the Ottoman world. This arrangement considerably benefited the Catholics on Naxos as long as the French-Ottoman alliance held firm.⁵

Due to the French ambassador, Seigneur de Brèves, the Porte allowed the archbishop of Naxos to return to the island in 1604. At that time, a Chiote, Dionysios Rendi held the office. His *berat* of appointment assured him a fixed revenue from each of the eight Catholic churches on the island, exempted the clergy from the *cizye*, the poll tax placed on Christian males, and allowed him to repossess two churches, one of which was the former Latin cathedral of Melos, which had been occupied by the Orthodox after 1579.⁶

In the early seventeenth century the fortunes of Naxian Catholics further improved. After 1622, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith took over the supervision of all Catholic missions in the Ottoman empire. This considerably strengthened church discipline on the island. A second factor, the arrival of secular priests who were alumni of the Greek College in Rome, aided the church. These clerics had the advantage of ten or twelve years of good formal education. The third element, and the most important, the establishment of French religious, Jesuits and Capuchins, on the island, stirred up a wave of enthusiasm for religious devotion which was unknown before their appearance in the Aegean.

In 1628 the French Capuchins first came to Naxos in response to a request from Archbishop Schiattini to Father Joseph Tremblay, the order's superior in Paris. The archbishop firmly believed that the presence of a French Capuchin friary on Naxos would assure the active concern of the French ambassador on behalf of the island's Catholics. The following

5. Edouard Driault and Michael l'Héritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1925) 1:7 ff.; Francis Rey, *De la protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 116-20; J. de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1864-94), 1:91-96.

6. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici*, pp. 16-23. George Finlay comments, "The Catholic nobles were proud and luxurious; the Greek primates malicious and rapacious; the people of both churches lazy, superstitious, and false," in *History of Greece*, ed. H.F. Tozer, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1877), 5:235.

year a ship carrying two Jesuits on the first part of a journey to China stopped by force in the harbor of Naxos because of a storm. Archbishop Schiattini prevailed upon them to be his guests while he successfully petitioned their superiors to let them stay. The Jesuits and Capuchins brought a new spirit to inter-community relations, for their concerns spread beyond serving the Catholics. The French ambassador in Istanbul, Comte de Césy, wrote to Louis XIII that the Jesuit presence caused "the *fleur de lis* and the name of the king to be held in the same reverence on Naxos as in France itself."⁷

Letters from the missionaries to France provide details concerning their ministry on Naxos. The Jesuits, who were invited to preach in the Catholic cathedral, delivered sermons in both Greek and Italian to the Latin clergy and laity as well as visiting Orthodox clerics and monks. During Holy Week and on the feast of Corpus Christi and its octave, the priests organized processions which involved all the Catholics of the town. They also established a variety of confraternities for the laity who gathered on special occasions for prayers, instruction, or works of charity.

To reach the villages of rural Naxos, a public crier went ahead of the priests to announce their coming. Then the Jesuits would gather a congregation in the public square. Often the village clergy, both Catholic and Orthodox, would invite the missionaries into their churches where instruction in Christian doctrine was given and confessions heard, irrespective of the penitents' religious allegiance. The Jesuits simply did not ask questions concerning doctrinal matters.

An unheard of event in the Ottoman empire occurred on Naxos in 1634: the assembly of a Catholic synod, the first to be held since the Turkish occupation. Archbishop Schiattini summoned it for April 20 and it lasted for two weeks. The Catholic clergy of Naxos divided their attention among doctrinal, liturgical, and disciplinary matters. While the synod did little more than reaffirm its allegiance to the documents of the Council of Trent in most cases, some of the canons dealing

7. Comte de Césy to Louis XIII, Constantinople, 30 May 1627, quoted in Rey, *De la protection diplomatique*, p. 355. See also Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* (Paris, 1678), p. 351 and Baron Henrion, *Histoire générale des missions catholiques depuis le XIII siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1846-47), 2:248.

with church life on the island provide an insight into the practice of seventeenth century Catholicism there.

One stipulation ordered Angelus bells to be rung three times a day in the parishes and once to announce the death of a parishioner, but the cathedral bells had priority and parish bell ringers had to wait until these were heard. Professional mourners could not be hired by the families of a recently deceased person. Those who had made a pact with the devil became excommunicated and found themselves handed over to secular authorities for punishment.

The clergy, ordered to wear clerical dress both in public and inside their homes, had to confess weekly and communicate on every Sunday of the year. As part of their obligations, on Sunday afternoons they had to attend a conference where "cases of conscience" would be discussed. One gets the feeling the clergy were never supposed to enjoy themselves in public or make use of the beautiful beaches of the Aegean.⁸

Another view of Naxian Catholicism comes from a letter of the Jesuit, Mathieu Hardy, written to his patrons in France in 1643. After recounting the activities of the Jesuit mission, he speaks in some detail of the activities of the island's people. Since carnival time immediately before Lent was one filled with "excesses," the Jesuits instituted Forty Hours Devotion during these days. The church was decorated and the Sacrament exposed. The Archbishop personally offered Mass each morning, then followed it with a sermon. Upon its conclusion, the Office of the Blessed Virgin was sung and confessions were heard. Throughout the day people took turns at assisting in worshipping the Eucharist. In the afternoon classes on Christian doctrine took place; then followed a public recitation of the rosary, and the day concluded with Compline and Benediction.

A pleased Hardy reported that while in the past the wealthy Catholic women of Naxos would send a friend or servant to represent them on Ash Wednesday, they now attended in person. The Jesuits preached three times a week during Lent in the evenings—a service which often attracted Orthodox Christians. During the Holy Week processions Hardy notes with satisfaction, "The Turks are at the windows of their houses in such a way they can view the solemnity."

8. Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici*, p. 34 ff.

Hardy spoke of the school which the Jesuits established that offered classes taught in both Greek and Latin, but he complained that the students lost interest before they progressed very far and eventually left to find work. Hardy had great difficulties in getting his Naxian parishioners to observe the laws of fasting or to have the women sing in church. Their silence contrasted to those on the neighboring islands of Tinos and Chios where the Catholic women held their own rosary devotions with hymns on Saturday evenings. Such was the picture of the Naxian Catholicism in the middle of the seventeenth century.⁹

From 1650 until the Greek revolution of 1821 and the subsequent creation of a Greek national state which incorporated the Naxians, the Catholics of this island continued to enjoy a privileged status which, with the exception of Dubrovnik in Dalmatia, was not known in any other Latin community in the Ottoman empire. Its survival, indeed its flourishing status under Ottoman rule, is to be seen as a product of its internal cohesion, formed during independence and allowed to continue unhindered under Turkish rule. The benign nature of Ottoman domination, the advocate's role played by France, and the infusion of the Tridentine spirituality fostered by the French Jesuits and Capuchins were to the Catholic church of Naxos what the sculptor's tools were to Naxian marble. Both church and stone were changed and made to survive the passage of time.

9. [M. Hardy] "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la résidence des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus établie à Naxie le 26 septembre de l'année 1627," ed. V. Laurent, *Echos d'Orient*, 30 (1934), 218-26, 354-75 and 34 (1935), 97-105, 179-204, 350-67, 473-81.

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THE CENTRALITY OF CONSCIENCE IN EASTERN ORTHODOX ETHICS

The intent of this study is to investigate the place of the conscience in Orthodox Christian Ethical thought, based on the scriptural and patristic teaching, as well as on modern Orthodox treatments of Orthodox Ethics. The study begins with a general survey of the place of the conscience in ethical thought, broadly conceived. A short section follows in which the empirical aspects of conscience are summarized. The next section of the study treats the scriptural and patristic resources and this is followed by an effort to develop a consistent Eastern Orthodox ethical view of the conscience. The conclusion seeks to assess the place of conscience in Orthodox Christian Ethics.

Perceptions of Conscience

The conscience as a moral and psychological phenomenon has been an object of scrutiny and reflection since the beginning of recorded time. Because the human experience of the sense of moral obligation and/or of guilt or praise for an action taken or contemplated is of such powerful dimensions, it cannot remain unexamined.

However, it has not always been viewed or described in a uniform manner. Non-rational concepts of the conscience tend to see the conscience as an invisible, mysterious power or presence, watching over the enforcement of what is right and condemning evil thoughts and actions. Socrates' *Daimon* is an example of this view. Sometimes, the Christian concept of the Guardian Angel has also been used to express the conscience. More frequently, Christians speak of the conscience as the "voice of God" at work in the soul of each person.

In Scholastic Theological Ethical discourse a distinction is made between "synderesis" and "conscience." Synderesis is identified as the recognition of the authority or claim of the moral law in general. Conscience is understood as acknowledging the duty to perform concrete acts of moral obedience. This, combined with an examination of the facts of the circumstances, a logical deduction from moral principles and the

application of the principles to concrete and specific cases is the practice of casuistry—an act of the conscience.

Other views of the conscience may be characterized as intuitionist. These theories view the conscience as an “innate faculty of moral judgment” and some, who hold this view see the conscience as capable of determining what is right in each instance. Demetropoulos’ definition of the conscience tends to belong to this family of views. He defines: “The Conscience is the inborn ability of the practical reason to express correct judgments on the morality of persons, regarding the harmony or disharmony of their intentions and acts in regard to the moral law.”¹

Empirical theories of the conscience, based primarily on psychological learning theories, explain conscience in terms of acquired knowledge and attitudes. In Freudian psychology, conscience is the functioning “Super Ego” by which the society imposes its will upon the individual. Behaviorism sees conscience as the result of a punishment-reward conditioning process in which the person learns to avoid certain kinds of prohibited actions and to perform certain other kinds of encouraged actions, sensing blame for the first and praise for the second.

The non-rational views tend to hold that conscience involves more than the individual and they emphasize the imperative character of the experience of conscience. The scholastic view emphasizes the fact that the conscience seems most powerful when it deals with concrete and specific actions and decisions. Intuitionist theories emphasize the seriousness with which the conscience is taken in seeking to guide action or reflect on it. Conscience and the things it deals with are never passing issues—they always are of first-order importance, having direct and determining effects on our personal self-image and identity. Empirical theories point to the fact that conscience is and can be formed, that it is not a mere mechanical psychological function.

The Facts of Conscience

The facts of conscience seem to include the following elements. First, that there is generally speaking a universal human

1. Panagiotis Demetropoulos, *Ὁρθόδοξος Χριστιανικὴ Ἠθικὴ* (Athens, 1970), p. 58.

experience of the sense of obligation which seems to carry with it both an undeniable character as well as an unexplainable dimension. Secondly, it is quite clear that the functioning of the human conscience is in large part a factor which permits the existence of human society. Much of social control and organization is dependent upon this human tendency to internalize and live by the rules of life as they are required in society. The third fact of conscience, however, points to the opposite characteristic of conscience—its frequent independence from society. Conscience often leads persons to reject and oppose social norms, to stand up against them and to seek to change them. Thus, there is a certain autonomous character to the conscience, which is not totally subdued to the pressures of society. A fourth factor is the intimate connection of the functioning conscience with the religious dimensions and perspectives of life. The conscience is strengthened and seems to take on more force and authority over life as it is perceived to be associated with belief in God, for instance. If a person holds that what the conscience requires or condemns is in fact required or condemned by God, the matter takes on a more serious dimension and tends to elicit a more serious response as compared to the merely private perception of moral duty or responsibility. The nature and functioning of conscience is one of the great problems of ethical theory as it seeks to take into consideration all of these facts and others as well. No understanding of the conscience should be permitted to be a simplistic absolutizing of any of these dimensions of the phenomenon of conscience.

Scriptural and Patristic Views on Conscience

Orthodox Christian Ethics takes into consideration the scriptural and patristic perceptions of conscience. The scriptural view of conscience appears to have little direct contact with contemporary psychological or sociological interpretations of conscience, such as that of Freudiansim, Intuitionism or Behaviorism.

It bears with it concurrently an ethical and religious character. . . . The conscience is presented in the Bible clearly as one of the major subjective aspects of the religious and ethical life. Thus, in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul writes: "The aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure

heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (1 Timothy 1:5).²

Both the Old and New Testaments make reference to the conscience. The description of the sin of Adam and Eve is very instructive. The action of the couple who "hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden" points to one of the dimensions of a functioning conscience, the unique and significant sense of guilt. In such a case of guilt, there is also a sense of separation from the source of good, God Himself: "I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself." This story also points to the tendency of the guilty conscience to seek to escape blame by making excuses and to justify one's actions, something which would be unnecessary if there were no sense of obligation to do good and avoid evil. Adam blames Eve: "The woman . . . gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate." And Eve blames the devil: "The serpent beguiled me, and I ate" (Gen. 3:8-14). An example of a guilty conscience in the New Testament is the behavior of Judas Iscariot. In both examples, another feature of the guilty conscience is seen, i.e., the acceptance of punishment or retribution for an evil deed done. In the words of one of the Deuterocanonical books, "Wickedness is a cowardly thing, condemned by its own testimony; distressed by conscience, it has always anticipated the difficulties" (Wisdom of Solomon 17:11).

On the other hand conscience may also justify one's actions, even in the face of much public criticism to the contrary. The conscience is the main agent in helping persons maintain their sense of moral integrity in the face of criticism and condemnation. To the condemnation of Baldad, one of his friends, Job responds: "Far be it for me to acknowledge you to be right; for till I die, I will not give up mine innocence. And for asserting my righteousness I make no apology; for I am not conscious to myself of having done amiss" (Job 27:5).³

Even the example of Jesus before the High Priest points to this powerful and empowering aspect of conscience. After He had been struck by one of the officers of the High Priest, "Jesus answered him, 'If I have spoken wrongly bear witness to the wrongs but if I have spoken rightly, why do you strike me?'" (Jn. 18:23). St. Paul also appeals to his conscience to justify his ministry against those who would condemn him. Thus he

2. Constantine Frangos, *Θρησκευτική καί 'Ηθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 2, (1962), 588-59.

3. *The Septuagint Bible* (Indian Hills Colo. 1954)

writes, "For our boast is this, the testimony of our conscience that we have behaved in the world, and still more toward you, with holiness and godly sincerity, not by earthly wisdom, but by the grace of God" (1 Cor. 1:12).

That conscience can both condemn and justify is witnessed to also by St. Paul. He indicates that often the functioning of conscience is not so clear cut, and that there is a frequent sense of conflict and struggle in the experience of the conscience. Thus, in speaking of the Gentiles who do not have the Mosaic Law, but do have a natural comprehension of right and wrong, he says that "they show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them" (Rom. 2:15).

The patristic tradition elevates the conscience to an important part of moral and spiritual life. The conscience is seen as a part of the created endowment of the human person. "In creating the human being, God placed within an impartial and just court, that is, the reckoning of the conscience in each person" says St. John Chrysostom.⁴ Another Father writes: "When God created man, He placed within him something divine-like, as a sort of intense reasoning . . . which enlightens the mind and shows him the difference between good and evil. This is called the conscience."⁵ The conscience in patristic thought is given an important and critical place in the practice of moral life, as well. It is not just a *donatum*. Thus, Clement of Alexandria writes that "the conscience is an excellent means for exact choosing of the good or avoiding [evil]; the correct life is its foundation."⁶

St. John Chrysostom has high regard for the conscience. With a strong vote of confidence in the sufficiency of the conscience, he writes: "In the conscience we have an adequate teacher, and one ought not to deny oneself the help which comes from it."⁷ Equally strong support for the adequacy of the conscience as a guide for the moral life is given by Leontios of Neapolis who says, "The conscience is an able and capable

4. *Exposition of the Psalms*, 14, 7:9.

5. Abbas Dorotheos, *Doctrinae Diversae*, 3.1.

6. *Stromata*, 1.1.

7. *Homilies on Genesis* 54.1

teacher which counsels obedience to every good thing and avoidance of all evil things.”⁸ In addition, the Fathers point to the judging and decision-making character of the conscience. Chrysostom thus instructs us: “Open the doors of your conscience and look at the judge seated within your mind.”⁹ St. Paul indicated in his letter to the Romans that the conscience condemns us for evil which we do. This emphasis on the function of conscience to raise up our sense of having violated our moral responsibility is also found in the patristic writings. “The Master . . . created man placing within an unceasing accuser, the conscience.”¹⁰

Both the Scriptures and the Fathers speak of “good” and “bad” consciences. Thus, in the New Testament it is characterized as “good” (ἀγαθή, καλή), pure (καθαρά), divine conscience, and clear (ἀπρόσκοπος).¹¹ Chrysostom points to the source of the good conscience: “The conscience comes from a life and acts which are good.”¹² Nothing rejoices us from within as a good (χρηστή) conscience,” he says elsewhere.¹³ On the other hand there is also a “bad” conscience which in the New Testament, may be called “evil” (πονηρά), weak (ἀσθενής), idolatrous, seared (κεκαυτηριασμένη), corrupted (μεμιάται νοῦς . . . καὶ ἡ συνείδησις).¹⁴ Origen speaks of conscience “corrupted by a sin.”¹⁵ One “should not defile (μολύνειν) one’s conscience by unlawful gain,” Hippolytos says.¹⁶ To have such an evil conscience is truly fearsome, for then the conscience is consumed by fire,” nor is one even “able to sleep, and through it to be freed from the agony of an evil (πονηρόν) conscience.”¹⁷ An evil conscience is “skilled in defense . . . and is no longer able to accuse,” says Nilos of Ancyra.¹⁸

8. *The Life of Symeon Sali*, 2.

9. *Homilies on 2nd Corinthians*, 9.3.

10. Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, 17.1.

11. Acts 23.1, Heb. 13:18, 1 Tim. 3:9, 1 Pet. 2:19 and Acts 24:16.

12. *Homilies on 2nd Corinthians*, 4:13.

13. *Contra Eos Qui Subintroducunt*, 11.

14. Heb. 10:20, 1 Cor. 8:7, 1 Tim. 4:2, Tit. 1:15.

15. *Homily on Jeremiah*, 6:2.

16. Hippolytos, *Refutation of All Heresies*, 9:23.

17. Chrysostom, *On the Statues*, 5, 3; *Homilies on Romans*, 12.7.

18. *Peristeria*, 12.8.

Source, Nature, and Functioning of Conscience

This evidence points to an understanding of conscience which combines the various views which we noted at the beginning of this paper. In the first instance, the conscience is considered as a "given" of our human constitution. Theologically speaking, it is part of the "image and likeness" of our creation. Modern Orthodox writers tend to see it as one of the immediate consequences or outgrowths of our basic human moral capacities, the Ethical Drive, the Ethical Sense and the *αὐτεξούσιον* or self-determining will. The inborn capacity and human penchant to interpret events in ethical categories, to in fact make ethical evaluations and to sense personal responsibility for our behavior is the foundation of the experience of and universal functioning of conscience. Both Androutsos and Demetropoulos accept the view, consequently, that the conscience is an expression of the whole psychological functioning of the person and not as an isolated faculty.¹⁹ Thus, emotions, will, and intellect all share in the experience of conscience. The sense of pleasure, peace, and happiness which comes to us when we have "done our duty" and which comes from an approving conscience is one aspect of the sharing of our emotions in the functioning of our conscience. The pain, anxiety, guilt, and agony of a "bad conscience" also evidences the involvement of emotions.²⁰

The self-determining will (*αὐτεξούσιον*) is equally involved. The conscience both orders us to behave in a particular way or judges us as responsible for the ways in which we have acted. This implies we either are able to obey its dictates or we are free to choose how to act in the past. When the conscience debates courses of action, the implication is that they are all open to us and subject to our volition.

In addition, the intellectual involvement in the exercise of conscience is also quite clear. Alternative possibilities are weighed, and balanced rationally against each other. Motives and intentions are analyzed. Consequences and circumstances are evaluated and considered both in deciding what is right and in judging what has been done.

Yet that which pulls them all together and permits us to speak not of numerous psychological functions, but of the

19. Chrestos Androutsos, *Σύστημα Ἠθικῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1964).

20. Vasilejos Antoniadou, *Ἐγχειρίδιον Κατὰ Χριστῶν Ἠθικῆς* (Constantinople, 1927).

unique experience of conscience is the profound sense of serious moral obligation and personal responsibility with which the conscience is identified. This imperative character of the conscience is its distinguishing characteristic. And it is in this sense that it is properly referred to as the "voice of God." As we shall soon see, this phrase cannot properly be applied to the conscience if we are primarily referring to the content of the conscience. It is as we focus on the demanding pressure of the conscience upon our being, the profound sense of obligation that the understanding of the conscience as the voice of God makes sense.

The fact that there can be "good" and "bad" consciences indicates that the conscience does not function in some mechanical or automatic fashion. Unlike our heartbeat or our metabolism, the conscience needs to be developed, formed, enriched and sharpened. Which, of course, also means that it can remain stunted, it can be weakened, it can become distorted. Consequently, what we call the "content" of the conscience not only can be, but properly must be cultivated and educated. In this sense the psychological theories of Freudianism and Behaviorism are correct. A large part of moral education is just this—educating, exercising, cultivating, and informing the conscience. This process takes place both unconsciously and deliberately. The experience of family life, of the whole acculturation process, the sharing in culture in group mores, etc. all serve to provide content to the conscience. However, explicit teaching of a religious and moral nature, as well as self-discipline, serve to educate, sharpen, and hone the conscience to greater sensitivity. The examination of conscience, for instance, as part of the development of the spiritual life is an essential element. Thus, St. Basil instructs:

When the day has passed . . . and before falling asleep, it is appropriate for each to examine his conscience with his own heart.²¹

As St. John Chrysostom instructs: "When you have entered into yourself and have reviewed those things which you have done wrong, strictly demand to clarify your [moral] responsibility for them."²² Whatever else this indicates, it also points to

21. *Ἀσκητικά*, 1, 5.

22. *Homily on Romans*, 5.6.

the fact that the content of the conscience is subject to change, evaluation, judgment, and development. The commonly used description of the conscience as the "voice of God" when it is meant literally, i.e., that God always speaks to each person telling him or her what is right or wrong, thus, cannot be accepted. If that were the case, then there could never be differing ethical perceptions of the same moral situation (Num. 23:19, Rom. 3:4).²³

This understanding of the conscience, taking into account both its inborn, as well as its developmental character is in full harmony with the Eastern Orthodox Christian doctrine of man. Existentially speaking the gifts of God which constituted man were by and large retained even after the Fall. The conscience, indicating the practical discernment of right and wrong as well as the experience of the sense of responsibility issuing in the experience of moral guilt or place, is an integral part of the constitutive human make-up. Yet, Orthodox Christian Anthropology also recognizes the difference between the gifts and their fulfillment. Divinely given human freedom implies that the fulfillment of the basic human *donatum* is dependent on the proper exercise of that freedom. This in turn clearly means that the conscience is subject both to development (through the right use of freedom, including self-discipline, education, choice of environment, etc.) and to stagnation or distortion (through the wrong use of freedom and absent or improper self-discipline, education, environment, etc.).

It is, thus, in two senses that a conscience may be determined to be "good" or "bad." When an active conscience evaluates past acts and is pleased and content that the behavior was proper it may be called "good," or conversely, when the active conscience condemns evil acts and is disturbed by them it may be called "bad." In both cases, however, the conscience is functioning, sensitive, awake, and active. The second sense in which the conscience may be called "good" or "bad" is on the basis of its functioning role in the whole life of the person. If it is active, as described above, it is a "good" conscience in that it is contributing to the spiritual and moral growth of the person, leading to his or her fulfillment and perfection as God's image and likeness. In order to achieve Theosis a strong, sensitive, active conscience is necessary. In this second sense, a "bad"

23. Num. 23:19, Rom. 3:4.

conscience is one which is not contributing to that growth toward Theosis. It may be weak, insensitive, and inactive. In that case, it is a spiritual and moral requirement for growth in the image and likeness of God that the "bad" conscience be rectified, enriched, sensitized, and strengthened.

Occasionally, a person's conscience may become so insensitive that it appears to have ceased to exist. A criminal may give such an impression. "Appeals to conscience" appear to have no effect and the conscience seems to be totally insensitive. This condition is sometimes referred to as a "hardened conscience." In Greek the phrase used is *πεπορωμένη συνείδησις*. The root word used here is *πορώω* which means "to petrify, to turn into stone," and metaphorically, "to harden, to make callous." This emphasizes the insensitive conscience which becomes so because of misused freedom, improper formation, education, or environment. However, we would hold that the conscience never completely dies. The sixth century ascetical writer, Abbas Dorotheos graphically describes the condition.

When our conscience says to us, "Do this now," and we ignore it; when it again tells us to do it and we don't do it, and when we persist in placing it under foot, we in fact bury it. Consequently it is no longer able to speak to us with any boldness. . . . Thus we reach the condition in which we have no sensitivity for the things our conscience says, so that it appears to us that we almost do not have a conscience any more. However, there is no person without a conscience.²⁴

The conscience may become deformed and hardened, weakened and inactive because of the environment, experience, or an enslaved will (*αυτεξούσιον*). But because it is part of the gift of humanity which comes from God, it cannot completely disappear.

The situation is rare. Rarer still is the hyperactive conscience. This is tied closely to the practice of extreme casuistry, which applies ethical norms in an overly meticulous and detailed fashion. It is also closely tied to a strongly legalistic understanding of Christian ethics. A consequence of an overly "deontic" view of ethics, it tends to emphasize the importance of specific and concrete acts as opposed to the emphasis of ethics as "aretaic" which tends to concentrate on the whole of the

24. *Doctrinae Diversae*, 3, 1.

ethical personality including motive, intent, character, and virtue.²⁵ It has appeared primarily in Western Christianity and has been characterized as "scrupulosity." James N. Lapsley defines it as follows:

Scrupulosity is a term used in Catholic moral theology to denote the over-use of the confessional for the confession of trivial and diminutive sins. Though absolution is eagerly sought, it is never fully satisfying to the scrupulous person in this sense of "ever-scrupulous," who fears he may have forgotten something, and who will soon return to confess many of the same offenses.

...

Though Protestants who do not have formal confession do not use the term, the phenomenon is present in the over-zealous church worker who seemingly cannot find enough to do in the Church and also frequently seeks the pastor to pour out his troubles and get his advice, which is seldom taken.²⁶

It appears that scrupulosity, then, is as inappropriate as a "hardened conscience" and perhaps it is true that both are more in the nature of psychological illnesses than moral sins.

However, in most of us it would appear that the cultivation and development of the conscience is a requirement for our spiritual and moral growth. It is toward this end that one of the chief virtues discussed by the ascetic Fathers of the Eastern Church points. The virtue is that which is known as "*διάκρισις*." *Diakrisis* in this sense is spiritual and ethical discernment. Thus, in Hebrews it says "solid [spiritual] food is for the mature, for those who have their faculties trained by practice to distinguish (*πρὸς διάκρισιν*) good from evil" (Heb. 5:14). Nilos of Ancyra, an ascetic writer of the fifth century, in a work entitled "Concerning the Eight Spirits of Evil" characteristically writes: "The source, and root and head and bond of every virtue is discernment (*διάκρισις*)."²⁷ It is probably correct that discernment is not limited to the ethical sphere of life, nor that it is purely an act or virtue of the conscience. Yet the diagnostic quality of

25. "Deontic" and "aretaic" are used here in the senses in which William K. Frankena uses them in his *Ethics*, 2nd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973).

26. In John Maquarrie, *Dictionary of Christian Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 313.-

27. *Περὶ ὀκτώ Πνευμάτων τῆς Πονηρίας*, Migne, P.G. 79:1468B.

discernment is central to conscience.

Thus, Peter of Damascus writes:

In all things we need discernment (*διάκρισις*) so that we can constantly judge our every pursuit in life. For *diakrisis* is a light which reveals to the person who has it, the time, the undertaking, the pursuit, the strength, the knowledge, the age, the power, the weakness, the motive, the willingness, the contrition, the habit, the ignorance, the physical strength and inclination of the body, both health and suffering, the manner, the place, the behavior, the education, the faith, the mood, the purpose, the course of life, the permissiveness, the science, the natural knowledge, the effort, the watchfulness, the hesitancy, and other such things. In addition, the things of nature, the use, the quantity, the forms, the purpose of God . . . *Diakrisis* clarifies all of these things, and not only these but also the purpose of the patristic teachings, for it is not just the thing that is done which we seek, but why it is done . . . He who cultivates the mind is able to contemplate, to pray, to theologize, and to achieve every virtue.²⁸

The Centrality of Conscience

We have not given a definition of the conscience, as is customary. Perhaps it is now clear why this would not be very helpful. A definition such as that of Demetropoulos, mentioned above, or that of Frangos ("The ethical conscience appears as an inner witness and judgment, by which, through a sort of 'voice of God,' the human being distinguishes between good and evil, is thrust toward the first and dissuaded from the latter, and, finally, in accordance to his acts is accused or comforted, spiritually.")²⁹ is not fully adequate because it does not point to its centrality to the ethical life.

In doctrinal discussions concerning the saving work of Jesus Christ it is customary to distinguish between the "objective" work of salvation as realized in Christ as Prophet, King, and High Priest and the "subjective" appropriation of that salvation in the soul and spirit of the faithful. Something similar takes place in the specifically ethical sphere of life. For the Orthodox the only absolute Good is God Himself. The truths of His revelation both in creation and revelation are, so to speak, external

28. Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν, 3 (Athens, 1957), 66-67.

29. Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, 11, 562.

to us until there is a personal meeting, an inner experience which brings the objective Good into direct, intimate responsible, felt, and personal relationship to ourselves. In Ethics, for want of a better name or description of the locus where this takes place, we call it conscience. Conscience is the means by which the human being appropriates the Good into and for his or her life. It is the meeting place of the Good and the realization of that Good in the specific, concrete, living existence of the person, the community, and society in general.

There is, then an affinity between this emphasis on the centrality of the conscience for the appropriation and realization of the Good in our personal existence and Kant's emphasis on the autonomy of the ethical life. The objective good must become personalized, internalized, and practically realized in the person. This aspect of Kant's approach is valid and is generally recognized as true. A moral imperative appears not to have valid claim upon a person unless he or she does in fact accept it for him or herself. This convinces because we feel that the Good cannot be heteronomous, that is, external to the moral agent. It is the genius of the Eastern Orthodox position to affirm that the human good is intimately related with the divine Good because humanity is not only created in the image of God (the only Absolute Good) but also destined to become—ought to become—“like God” thereby achieving and realizing true and full humanity, i.e., Theosis.

It is the conscience that is the agent for the realization of this autonomy. As it functions, the conscience works in three different and distinguishable spheres. The moral life, approached as a total phenomenon, can be described as dealing with (a) being good, (b) deciding for good, and (c) doing the good.

“Being” refers to character and virtue as a mode of existence. It is the formation of certain dispositions, traits, habits, and qualities which form a stable pattern or style of life. It is to this sphere of the ethical life that we refer when we say that a person is “saintly,” “fair-minded,” “Christ-like,” “a good person.” A cultivated, developed conscience both functions out of such a state of being and contributes to its ongoing growth, development, and enrichment.

Conscience, however, also clearly functions as a judge discerning the right and wrong courses of action. It does this both in advance of an action, during it, and after it, as well. It is before an action that the conscience most frequently functions

in a decision-making capacity. It seeks to determine, in difficult and complicated moral situations, the right course of action. In the process, it takes into account the facts of the situation, motives, intentions, immediate consequences, ultimate goals and values, etc. As Peter of Damascus noted: "In all things we need discernment so that we can constantly judge our every pursuit in life." Its conclusion is to commend an action or to dissuade one from an action. It concludes with the prescription, "This course of action is right: do it!" or "This course of action is wrong: avoid it!" In traditional ethical terminology this is called a "preceding conscience" (*προηγούμενη συνείδησις*).

The conscience often functions after an act, judging it as to its moral quality. Here, praise and blame are primarily operative. Thus, we judge personalities in history, our contemporaries, as well as our own already performed acts. We have already noted the sense of a "good" or "evil" conscience according to which the conscience feels praise, commendation, inner peace, and satisfaction at having done what is right; or, blame, condemnation, guilt, and discomfort for having done evil. The traditional description of this judgment which takes place after the act is called "subsequent conscience" (*ἐπομένη συνείδησις*). Sometimes the two are mixed together both prescribing and judging as well as praising and blaming as the act is in process. This has been described as "concurrent conscience" (*συνοδεύουσα συνείδησις*).

The third sphere with which the conscience acts as the agent for the appropriation and realization of the Good by the person, is the doing of the good. How are we moved to do the good in fact? Philosophical ethics tends to be abstract and theoretical. In contrast religious ethics, and specifically Christian ethics, emphasizes its empowering capability to move to action. "My conscience makes me do it," "I acted out of conscience," "the demands of the conscience" are phrases of ordinary discourse which reflect the moving power of the conscience. Once the conscience has arrived at a decision (preceding conscience) there is a moral pressure which demands action. Doing the good and avoiding evil are also related to the functioning of the conscience.

Thus, the conscience is in a central position in Christian ethics, not only serving as the locus for the personal appropriation of the Good but also as the hub of the moral life of the

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THE CENTRALITY OF CONSCIENCE IN EASTERN ORTHODOX ETHICS

The intent of this study is to investigate the place of the conscience in Orthodox Christian Ethical thought, based on the scriptural and patristic teaching, as well as on modern Orthodox treatments of Orthodox Ethics. The study begins with a general survey of the place of the conscience in ethical thought, broadly conceived. A short section follows in which the empirical aspects of conscience are summarized. The next section of the study treats the scriptural and patristic resources and this is followed by an effort to develop a consistent Eastern Orthodox ethical view of the conscience. The conclusion seeks to assess the place of conscience in Orthodox Christian Ethics.

Perceptions of Conscience

The conscience as a moral and psychological phenomenon has been an object of scrutiny and reflection since the beginning of recorded time. Because the human experience of the sense of moral obligation and/or of guilt or praise for an action taken or contemplated is of such powerful dimensions, it cannot remain unexamined.

However, it has not always been viewed or described in a uniform manner. Non-rational concepts of the conscience tend to see the conscience as an invisible, mysterious power or presence, watching over the enforcement of what is right and condemning evil thoughts and actions. Socrates' *Daimon* is an example of this view. Sometimes, the Christian concept of the Guardian Angel has also been used to express the conscience. More frequently, Christians speak of the conscience as the "voice of God" at work in the soul of each person.

In Scholastic Theological Ethical discourse a distinction is made between "synderesis" and "conscience." Synderesis is identified as the recognition of the authority or claim of the moral law in general. Conscience is understood as acknowledging the duty to perform concrete acts of moral obedience. This, combined with an examination of the facts of the circumstances, a logical deduction from moral principles and the

application of the principles to concrete and specific cases is the practice of casuistry—an act of the conscience.

Other views of the conscience may be characterized as intuitionist. These theories view the conscience as an “innate faculty of moral judgment” and some, who hold this view see the conscience as capable of determining what is right in each instance. Demetropoulos’ definition of the conscience tends to belong to this family of views. He defines: “The Conscience is the inborn ability of the practical reason to express correct judgments on the morality of persons, regarding the harmony or disharmony of their intentions and acts in regard to the moral law.”¹

Empirical theories of the conscience, based primarily on psychological learning theories, explain conscience in terms of acquired knowledge and attitudes. In Freudian psychology, conscience is the functioning “Super Ego” by which the society imposes its will upon the individual. Behaviorism sees conscience as the result of a punishment-reward conditioning process in which the person learns to avoid certain kinds of prohibited actions and to perform certain other kinds of encouraged actions, sensing blame for the first and praise for the second.

The non-rational views tend to hold that conscience involves more than the individual and they emphasize the imperative character of the experience of conscience. The scholastic view emphasizes the fact that the conscience seems most powerful when it deals with concrete and specific actions and decisions. Intuitionist theories emphasize the seriousness with which the conscience is taken in seeking to guide action or reflect on it. Conscience and the things it deals with are never passing issues—they always are of first-order importance, having direct and determining effects on our personal self-image and identity. Empirical theories point to the fact that conscience is and can be formed, that it is not a mere mechanical psychological function.

The Facts of Conscience

The facts of conscience seem to include the following elements. First, that there is generally speaking a universal human

1. Panagiotis Demetropoulos, *Ὁρθόδοξος Χριστιανικὴ Ἠθικὴ* (Athens, 1970), p. 58.

experience of the sense of obligation which seems to carry with it both an undeniable character as well as an unexplainable dimension. Secondly, it is quite clear that the functioning of the human conscience is in large part a factor which permits the existence of human society. Much of social control and organization is dependent upon this human tendency to internalize and live by the rules of life as they are required in society. The third fact of conscience, however, points to the opposite characteristic of conscience—its frequent independence from society. Conscience often leads persons to reject and oppose social norms, to stand up against them and to seek to change them. Thus, there is a certain autonomous character to the conscience, which is not totally subdued to the pressures of society. A fourth factor is the intimate connection of the functioning conscience with the religious dimensions and perspectives of life. The conscience is strengthened and seems to take on more force and authority over life as it is perceived to be associated with belief in God, for instance. If a person holds that what the conscience requires or condemns is in fact required or condemned by God, the matter takes on a more serious dimension and tends to elicit a more serious response as compared to the merely private perception of moral duty or responsibility. The nature and functioning of conscience is one of the great problems of ethical theory as it seeks to take into consideration all of these facts and others as well. No understanding of the conscience should be permitted to be a simplistic absolutizing of any of these dimensions of the phenomenon of conscience.

Scriptural and Patristic Views on Conscience

Orthodox Christian Ethics takes into consideration the scriptural and patristic perceptions of conscience. The scriptural view of conscience appears to have little direct contact with contemporary psychological or sociological interpretations of conscience, such as that of Freudiansim, Intuitionism or Behaviorism.

It bears with it concurrently an ethical and religious character. . . . The conscience is presented in the Bible clearly as one of the major subjective aspects of the religious and ethical life. Thus, in the 1st Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul writes: "The aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure

heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (1 Timothy 1:5).²

Both the Old and New Testaments make reference to the conscience. The description of the sin of Adam and Eve is very instructive. The action of the couple who "hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden" points to one of the dimensions of a functioning conscience, the unique and significant sense of guilt. In such a case of guilt, there is also a sense of separation from the source of good, God Himself: "I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself." This story also points to the tendency of the guilty conscience to seek to escape blame by making excuses and to justify one's actions, something which would be unnecessary if there were no sense of obligation to do good and avoid evil. Adam blames Eve: "The woman . . . gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate." And Eve blames the devil: "The serpent beguiled me, and I ate" (Gen. 3:8-14). An example of a guilty conscience in the New Testament is the behavior of Judas Iscariot. In both examples, another feature of the guilty conscience is seen, i.e., the acceptance of punishment or retribution for an evil deed done. In the words of one of the Deuterocanonical books, "Wickedness is a cowardly thing, condemned by its own testimony; distressed by conscience, it has always anticipated the difficulties" (Wisdom of Solomon 17:11).

On the other hand conscience may also justify one's actions, even in the face of much public criticism to the contrary. The conscience is the main agent in helping persons maintain their sense of moral integrity in the face of criticism and condemnation. To the condemnation of Baldad, one of his friends, Job responds: "Far be it for me to acknowledge you to be right; for till I die, I will not give up mine innocence. And for asserting my righteousness I make no apology; for I am not conscious to myself of having done amiss" (Job 27:5).³

Even the example of Jesus before the High Priest points to this powerful and empowering aspect of conscience. After He had been struck by one of the officers of the High Priest, "Jesus answered him, 'If I have spoken wrongly bear witness to the wrongs but if I have spoken rightly, why do you strike me?'" (Jn. 18:23). St. Paul also appeals to his conscience to justify his ministry against those who would condemn him. Thus he

2. Constantine Frangos, *Θρησκευτική καί 'Ηθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 2, (1962), 588-59.

3. *The Septuagint Bible* (Indian Hills Colo. 1954)

writes, "For our boast is this, the testimony of our conscience that we have behaved in the world, and still more toward you, with holiness and godly sincerity, not by earthly wisdom, but by the grace of God" (1 Cor. 1:12).

That conscience can both condemn and justify is witnessed to also by St. Paul. He indicates that often the functioning of conscience is not so clear cut, and that there is a frequent sense of conflict and struggle in the experience of the conscience. Thus, in speaking of the Gentiles who do not have the Mosaic Law, but do have a natural comprehension of right and wrong, he says that "they show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them" (Rom. 2:15).

The patristic tradition elevates the conscience to an important part of moral and spiritual life. The conscience is seen as a part of the created endowment of the human person. "In creating the human being, God placed within an impartial and just court, that is, the reckoning of the conscience in each person" says St. John Chrysostom.⁴ Another Father writes: "When God created man, He placed within him something divine-like, as a sort of intense reasoning . . . which enlightens the mind and shows him the difference between good and evil. This is called the conscience."⁵ The conscience in patristic thought is given an important and critical place in the practice of moral life, as well. It is not just a *donatum*. Thus, Clement of Alexandria writes that "the conscience is an excellent means for exact choosing of the good or avoiding [evil]; the correct life is its foundation."⁶

St. John Chrysostom has high regard for the conscience. With a strong vote of confidence in the sufficiency of the conscience, he writes: "In the conscience we have an adequate teacher, and one ought not to deny oneself the help which comes from it."⁷ Equally strong support for the adequacy of the conscience as a guide for the moral life is given by Leontios of Neapolis who says, "The conscience is an able and capable

4. *Exposition of the Psalms*, 14, 7:9.

5. Abbas Dorotheos, *Doctrinae Diversae*, 3.1.

6. *Stromata*, 1.1.

7. *Homilies on Genesis* 54.1

teacher which counsels obedience to every good thing and avoidance of all evil things.”⁸ In addition, the Fathers point to the judging and decision-making character of the conscience. Chrysostom thus instructs us: “Open the doors of your conscience and look at the judge seated within your mind.”⁹ St. Paul indicated in his letter to the Romans that the conscience condemns us for evil which we do. This emphasis on the function of conscience to raise up our sense of having violated our moral responsibility is also found in the patristic writings. “The Master . . . created man placing within an unceasing accuser, the conscience.”¹⁰

Both the Scriptures and the Fathers speak of “good” and “bad” consciences. Thus, in the New Testament it is characterized as “good” (ἀγαθή, καλή), pure (καθαρά), divine conscience, and clear (ἀπρόσκοπος).¹¹ Chrysostom points to the source of the good conscience: “The conscience comes from a life and acts which are good.”¹² Nothing rejoices us from within as a good (χρηστή) conscience,” he says elsewhere.¹³ On the other hand there is also a “bad” conscience which in the New Testament, may be called “evil” (πονηρά), weak (ἀσθενής), idolatrous, seared (κεκαυτηριασμένη), corrupted (μεμιάται νοῦς . . . καὶ ἡ συνείδησις).¹⁴ Origen speaks of conscience “corrupted by a sin.”¹⁵ One “should not defile (μολύνειν) one’s conscience by unlawful gain,” Hippolytos says.¹⁶ To have such an evil conscience is truly fearsome, for then the conscience is consumed by fire,” nor is one even “able to sleep, and through it to be freed from the agony of an evil (πονηρόν) conscience.”¹⁷ An evil conscience is “skilled in defense . . . and is no longer able to accuse,” says Nilos of Ancyra.¹⁸

8. *The Life of Symeon Sali*, 2.

9. *Homilies on 2nd Corinthians*, 9.3.

10. Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, 17.1.

11. Acts 23.1, Heb. 13:18, 1 Tim. 3:9, 1 Pet. 2:19 and Acts 24:16.

12. *Homilies on 2nd Corinthians*, 4:13.

13. *Contra Eos Qui Subintroductas*, 11.

14. Heb. 10:20, 1 Cor. 8:7, 1 Tim. 4:2, Tit. 1:15.

15. *Homily on Jeremiah*, 6:2.

16. Hippolytos, *Refutation of All Heresies*, 9:23.

17. Chrysostom, *On the Statues*, 5, 3; *Homilies on Romans*, 12.7.

18. *Peristeria*, 12.8.

Source, Nature, and Functioning of Conscience

This evidence points to an understanding of conscience which combines the various views which we noted at the beginning of this paper. In the first instance, the conscience is considered as a "given" of our human constitution. Theologically speaking, it is part of the "image and likeness" of our creation. Modern Orthodox writers tend to see it as one of the immediate consequences or outgrowths of our basic human moral capacities, the Ethical Drive, the Ethical Sense and the *αὐτεξούσιον* or self-determining will. The inborn capacity and human penchant to interpret events in ethical categories, to in fact make ethical evaluations and to sense personal responsibility for our behavior is the foundation of the experience of and universal functioning of conscience. Both Androutsos and Demetropoulos accept the view, consequently, that the conscience is an expression of the whole psychological functioning of the person and not as an isolated faculty.¹⁹ Thus, emotions, will, and intellect all share in the experience of conscience. The sense of pleasure, peace, and happiness which comes to us when we have "done our duty" and which comes from an approving conscience is one aspect of the sharing of our emotions in the functioning of our conscience. The pain, anxiety, guilt, and agony of a "bad conscience" also evidences the involvement of emotions.²⁰

The self-determining will (*αὐτεξούσιον*) is equally involved. The conscience both orders us to behave in a particular way or judges us as responsible for the ways in which we have acted. This implies we either are able to obey its dictates or we are free to choose how to act in the past. When the conscience debates courses of action, the implication is that they are all open to us and subject to our volition.

In addition, the intellectual involvement in the exercise of conscience is also quite clear. Alternative possibilities are weighed, and balanced rationally against each other. Motives and intentions are analyzed. Consequences and circumstances are evaluated and considered both in deciding what is right and in judging what has been done.

Yet that which pulls them all together and permits us to speak not of numerous psychological functions, but of the

19. Chrestos Androutsos, *Σύστημα Ἠθικῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1964).

20. Vasilejos Antoniadou, *Ἐγχειρίδιον Κατὰ Χριστῶν Ἠθικῆς* (Constantinople, 1927).

unique experience of conscience is the profound sense of serious moral obligation and personal responsibility with which the conscience is identified. This imperative character of the conscience is its distinguishing characteristic. And it is in this sense that it is properly referred to as the "voice of God." As we shall soon see, this phrase cannot properly be applied to the conscience if we are primarily referring to the content of the conscience. It is as we focus on the demanding pressure of the conscience upon our being, the profound sense of obligation that the understanding of the conscience as the voice of God makes sense.

The fact that there can be "good" and "bad" consciences indicates that the conscience does not function in some mechanical or automatic fashion. Unlike our heartbeat or our metabolism, the conscience needs to be developed, formed, enriched and sharpened. Which, of course, also means that it can remain stunted, it can be weakened, it can become distorted. Consequently, what we call the "content" of the conscience not only can be, but properly must be cultivated and educated. In this sense the psychological theories of Freudianism and Behaviorism are correct. A large part of moral education is just this—educating, exercising, cultivating, and informing the conscience. This process takes place both unconsciously and deliberately. The experience of family life, of the whole acculturation process, the sharing in culture in group mores, etc. all serve to provide content to the conscience. However, explicit teaching of a religious and moral nature, as well as self-discipline, serve to educate, sharpen, and hone the conscience to greater sensitivity. The examination of conscience, for instance, as part of the development of the spiritual life is an essential element. Thus, St. Basil instructs:

When the day has passed . . . and before falling asleep, it is appropriate for each to examine his conscience with his own heart.²¹

As St. John Chrysostom instructs: "When you have entered into yourself and have reviewed those things which you have done wrong, strictly demand to clarify your [moral] responsibility for them."²² Whatever else this indicates, it also points to

21. *Λοκητικά*, 1, 5.

22. *Homily on Romans*, 5.6.

the fact that the content of the conscience is subject to change, evaluation, judgment, and development. The commonly used description of the conscience as the "voice of God" when it is meant literally, i.e., that God always speaks to each person telling him or her what is right or wrong, thus, cannot be accepted. If that were the case, then there could never be differing ethical perceptions of the same moral situation (Num. 23:19, Rom. 3:4).²³

This understanding of the conscience, taking into account both its inborn, as well as its developmental character is in full harmony with the Eastern Orthodox Christian doctrine of man. Existentially speaking the gifts of God which constituted man were by and large retained even after the Fall. The conscience, indicating the practical discernment of right and wrong as well as the experience of the sense of responsibility issuing in the experience of moral guilt or place, is an integral part of the constitutive human make-up. Yet, Orthodox Christian Anthropology also recognizes the difference between the gifts and their fulfillment. Divinely given human freedom implies that the fulfillment of the basic human *donatum* is dependent on the proper exercise of that freedom. This in turn clearly means that the conscience is subject both to development (through the right use of freedom, including self-discipline, education, choice of environment, etc.) and to stagnation or distortion (through the wrong use of freedom and absent or improper self-discipline, education, environment, etc.).

It is, thus, in two senses that a conscience may be determined to be "good" or "bad." When an active conscience evaluates past acts and is pleased and content that the behavior was proper it may be called "good," or conversely, when the active conscience condemns evil acts and is disturbed by them it may be called "bad." In both cases, however, the conscience is functioning, sensitive, awake, and active. The second sense in which the conscience may be called "good" or "bad" is on the basis of its functioning role in the whole life of the person. If it is active, as described above, it is a "good" conscience in that it is contributing to the spiritual and moral growth of the person, leading to his or her fulfillment and perfection as God's image and likeness. In order to achieve Theosis a strong, sensitive, active conscience is necessary. In this second sense, a "bad"

23. Num. 23:19, Rom. 3:4.

conscience is one which is not contributing to that growth toward Theosis. It may be weak, insensitive, and inactive. In that case, it is a spiritual and moral requirement for growth in the image and likeness of God that the "bad" conscience be rectified, enriched, sensitized, and strengthened.

Occasionally, a person's conscience may become so insensitive that it appears to have ceased to exist. A criminal may give such an impression. "Appeals to conscience" appear to have no effect and the conscience seems to be totally insensitive. This condition is sometimes referred to as a "hardened conscience." In Greek the phrase used is *πεπορωμένη συνείδησις*. The root word used here is *πορώω* which means "to petrify, to turn into stone," and metaphorically, "to harden, to make callous." This emphasizes the insensitive conscience which becomes so because of misused freedom, improper formation, education, or environment. However, we would hold that the conscience never completely dies. The sixth century ascetical writer, Abbas Dorotheos graphically describes the condition.

When our conscience says to us, "Do this now," and we ignore it; when it again tells us to do it and we don't do it, and when we persist in placing it under foot, we in fact bury it. Consequently it is no longer able to speak to us with any boldness. . . . Thus we reach the condition in which we have no sensitivity for the things our conscience says, so that it appears to us that we almost do not have a conscience any more. However, there is no person without a conscience.²⁴

The conscience may become deformed and hardened, weakened and inactive because of the environment, experience, or an enslaved will (*αυτεξούσιον*). But because it is part of the gift of humanity which comes from God, it cannot completely disappear.

The situation is rare. Rarer still is the hyperactive conscience. This is tied closely to the practice of extreme casuistry, which applies ethical norms in an overly meticulous and detailed fashion. It is also closely tied to a strongly legalistic understanding of Christian ethics. A consequence of an overly "deontic" view of ethics, it tends to emphasize the importance of specific and concrete acts as opposed to the emphasis of ethics as "aretaic" which tends to concentrate on the whole of the

24. *Doctrinae Diversae*, 3, 1.

ethical personality including motive, intent, character, and virtue.²⁵ It has appeared primarily in Western Christianity and has been characterized as "scrupulosity." James N. Lapsley defines it as follows:

Scrupulosity is a term used in Catholic moral theology to denote the over-use of the confessional for the confession of trivial and diminutive sins. Though absolution is eagerly sought, it is never fully satisfying to the scrupulous person in this sense of "ever-scrupulous," who fears he may have forgotten something, and who will soon return to confess many of the same offenses.

...

Though Protestants who do not have formal confession do not use the term, the phenomenon is present in the over-zealous church worker who seemingly cannot find enough to do in the Church and also frequently seeks the pastor to pour out his troubles and get his advice, which is seldom taken.²⁶

It appears that scrupulosity, then, is as inappropriate as a "hardened conscience" and perhaps it is true that both are more in the nature of psychological illnesses than moral sins.

However, in most of us it would appear that the cultivation and development of the conscience is a requirement for our spiritual and moral growth. It is toward this end that one of the chief virtues discussed by the ascetic Fathers of the Eastern Church points. The virtue is that which is known as "*διάκρισις*." *Diakrisis* in this sense is spiritual and ethical discernment. Thus, in Hebrews it says "solid [spiritual] food is for the mature, for those who have their faculties trained by practice to distinguish (*πρὸς διάκρισιν*) good from evil" (Heb. 5:14). Nilos of Ancyra, an ascetic writer of the fifth century, in a work entitled "Concerning the Eight Spirits of Evil" characteristically writes: "The source, and root and head and bond of every virtue is discernment (*διάκρισις*)."²⁷ It is probably correct that discernment is not limited to the ethical sphere of life, nor that it is purely an act or virtue of the conscience. Yet the diagnostic quality of

25. "Deontic" and "aretaic" are used here in the senses in which William K. Frankena uses them in his *Ethics*, 2nd ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973).

26. In John Maquarrie, *Dictionary of Christian Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 313.-

27. *Περὶ ὧν Ὀκτώ Πνευμάτων τῆς Πονηρίας*, Migne, P.G. 79:1468B.

discernment is central to conscience.

Thus, Peter of Damascus writes:

In all things we need discernment (*διάκρισις*) so that we can constantly judge our every pursuit in life. For *diakrisis* is a light which reveals to the person who has it, the time, the undertaking, the pursuit, the strength, the knowledge, the age, the power, the weakness, the motive, the willingness, the contrition, the habit, the ignorance, the physical strength and inclination of the body, both health and suffering, the manner, the place, the behavior, the education, the faith, the mood, the purpose, the course of life, the permissiveness, the science, the natural knowledge, the effort, the watchfulness, the hesitancy, and other such things. In addition, the things of nature, the use, the quantity, the forms, the purpose of God . . . *Diakrisis* clarifies all of these things, and not only these but also the purpose of the patristic teachings, for it is not just the thing that is done which we seek, but why it is done . . . He who cultivates the mind is able to contemplate, to pray, to theologize, and to achieve every virtue.²⁸

The Centrality of Conscience

We have not given a definition of the conscience, as is customary. Perhaps it is now clear why this would not be very helpful. A definition such as that of Demetropoulos, mentioned above, or that of Frangos ("The ethical conscience appears as an inner witness and judgment, by which, through a sort of 'voice of God,' the human being distinguishes between good and evil, is thrust toward the first and dissuaded from the latter, and, finally, in accordance to his acts is accused or comforted, spiritually.")²⁹ is not fully adequate because it does not point to its centrality to the ethical life.

In doctrinal discussions concerning the saving work of Jesus Christ it is customary to distinguish between the "objective" work of salvation as realized in Christ as Prophet, King, and High Priest and the "subjective" appropriation of that salvation in the soul and spirit of the faithful. Something similar takes place in the specifically ethical sphere of life. For the Orthodox the only absolute Good is God Himself. The truths of His revelation both in creation and revelation are, so to speak, external

28. Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν, 3 (Athens, 1957), 66-67.

29. Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, 11, 562.

to us until there is a personal meeting, an inner experience which brings the objective Good into direct, intimate responsible, felt, and personal relationship to ourselves. In Ethics, for want of a better name or description of the locus where this takes place, we call it conscience. Conscience is the means by which the human being appropriates the Good into and for his or her life. It is the meeting place of the Good and the realization of that Good in the specific, concrete, living existence of the person, the community, and society in general.

There is, then an affinity between this emphasis on the centrality of the conscience for the appropriation and realization of the Good in our personal existence and Kant's emphasis on the autonomy of the ethical life. The objective good must become personalized, internalized, and practically realized in the person. This aspect of Kant's approach is valid and is generally recognized as true. A moral imperative appears not to have valid claim upon a person unless he or she does in fact accept it for him or herself. This convinces because we feel that the Good cannot be heteronomous, that is, external to the moral agent. It is the genius of the Eastern Orthodox position to affirm that the human good is intimately related with the divine Good because humanity is not only created in the image of God (the only Absolute Good) but also destined to become—ought to become—“like God” thereby achieving and realizing true and full humanity, i.e., Theosis.

It is the conscience that is the agent for the realization of this autonomy. As it functions, the conscience works in three different and distinguishable spheres. The moral life, approached as a total phenomenon, can be described as dealing with (a) being good, (b) deciding for good, and (c) doing the good.

“Being” refers to character and virtue as a mode of existence. It is the formation of certain dispositions, traits, habits, and qualities which form a stable pattern or style of life. It is to this sphere of the ethical life that we refer when we say that a person is “saintly,” “fair-minded,” “Christ-like,” “a good person.” A cultivated, developed conscience both functions out of such a state of being and contributes to its ongoing growth, development, and enrichment.

Conscience, however, also clearly functions as a judge discerning the right and wrong courses of action. It does this both in advance of an action, during it, and after it, as well. It is before an action that the conscience most frequently functions

in a decision-making capacity. It seeks to determine, in difficult and complicated moral situations, the right course of action. In the process, it takes into account the facts of the situation, motives, intentions, immediate consequences, ultimate goals and values, etc. As Peter of Damascus noted: "In all things we need discernment so that we can constantly judge our every pursuit in life." Its conclusion is to commend an action or to dissuade one from an action. It concludes with the prescription, "This course of action is right: do it!" or "This course of action is wrong: avoid it!" In traditional ethical terminology this is called a "preceding conscience" (*προηγούμενη συνείδησις*).

The conscience often functions after an act, judging it as to its moral quality. Here, praise and blame are primarily operative. Thus, we judge personalities in history, our contemporaries, as well as our own already performed acts. We have already noted the sense of a "good" or "evil" conscience according to which the conscience feels praise, commendation, inner peace, and satisfaction at having done what is right; or, blame, condemnation, guilt, and discomfort for having done evil. The traditional description of this judgment which takes place after the act is called "subsequent conscience" (*ἐπομένη συνείδησις*). Sometimes the two are mixed together both prescribing and judging as well as praising and blaming as the act is in process. This has been described as "concurrent conscience" (*συνοδεύουσα συνείδησις*).

The third sphere with which the conscience acts as the agent for the appropriation and realization of the Good by the person, is the doing of the good. How are we moved to do the good in fact? Philosophical ethics tends to be abstract and theoretical. In contrast religious ethics, and specifically Christian ethics, emphasizes its empowering capability to move to action. "My conscience makes me do it," "I acted out of conscience," "the demands of the conscience" are phrases of ordinary discourse which reflect the moving power of the conscience. Once the conscience has arrived at a decision (preceding conscience) there is a moral pressure which demands action. Doing the good and avoiding evil are also related to the functioning of the conscience.

Thus, the conscience is in a central position in Christian ethics, not only serving as the locus for the personal appropriation of the Good but also as the hub of the moral life of the

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CHRISTIAN EXISTENTIALISM OF THE GREEK FATHERS:
PERSONS, ESSENCE, AND ENERGIES IN GOD*

Leslie Dewart, in his *The Future of Belief*, criticizes Christian theological tradition in the West for being too greatly attached to Greek metaphysics, and asks for the dehellenization of the Christian doctrine of God. To speak of God in terms of being is to reduce Him to a created reality. God cannot be an essence or an existence. Essences and existences, being intelligible, are always created, "whether created by another or self-created." Yet, we experience God as a 'presence':

God's real presence to us (and, therefore, his reality 'in himself') does not depend upon his being a being or an object. In fact, our belief in the Christian God is post-primitive to the degree that we apprehend that although there is no super-being behind beings, no supreme being who stands at the summit of the hierarchy of being, nevertheless a reality beyond the totality of being reveals itself by its *presence*. There can be, beyond the totality of all actually existing being, something *present* to us in our experience, in the sense that 'when somebody's presence does really make itself felt . . . it reveals me to myself, it makes me more fully myself than I should be if I were not exposed to its impact.'¹

Dewart's work provoked a heated debate² in which Eastern Christianity remained practically absent. One would easily understand why the Eastern Orthodox theological tradition has, in my estimation, no difficulty approving of, even applauding, some of the basic remarks and assumptions of Leslie Dewart as far as the 'dehellenizing' (or better, 'dephilosophizing') the Christian doctrine of God is concerned. It is true

1. Leslie Dewart, *The Future of Belief: Theism in a World Come of Age* (New York, 1966), pp. 173-77. Dewart quotes Gabriel Marcel, *The Mystery of Being*, 1 (London, 1950), 205.

2. The most varying responses to Dewart's positions are found in Gregory Baum (ed.), *The Future of Belief Debate* (New York, 1967). No Eastern Orthodox theologian participated in this debate.

*This paper was delivered to the Boston Theological Society on December 13, 1977.

that an Eastern Orthodox theologian would agree with Jaroslav Pelikan's criticism of some of the conclusions of Dewart's *The Future of Belief*.³ Yet, some of the basic assumptions in Dewart's work are more than welcome as being congenial with the apophatic theology of the Greek Fathers.

The statement quoted above speaks of God in terms of *presence* rather than *being*. The Eastern theological tradition will find no difficulty in accepting this statement, if being is identified as intelligible and created. God is beyond our human understanding as far as His inner-reality ('essence') is concerned. In this sense, God not only is beyond being, as a kind of 'super-being,' but actually "God is not a being at all."⁴ By the same token, God in his 'inner-reality' cannot exist or 'super-exist,' if this existence is "only analogous to that of the creatures."⁵ The Greek Fathers have used expressions similar to these to indicate the transcendence of God. In summarizing their tradition, which is already very clearly expressed by the Cappadocian Fathers, Pseudo-Dionysios, Saint Maximos the Confessor and John Damascene, Saint Gregory Palamas makes the following statement: "If God is nature, then all else is not nature. If that which is not God be nature, God is not nature, and likewise He is not being if that which is not God is being."⁶

Yet, it is difficult to understand how the reality of God is a *presence* in Dewart's terms. This 'presence' cannot be the 'inner-reality' ('essence') of God, either. Nevertheless, God is experienced as *presence*. To be able to interpret this presence we should retain the distinction between 'essence' and 'existence' in God, a distinction which the Great Scholasticism in the West introduced in the case of creatures, but rejected in the case of God.⁷

The great Patristic Tradition of the East, especially with the Great Cappadocian Fathers, defends this kind of distinction,

3. Jaroslav Pelikan, *Development of Christian Dogma* (New Haven, 1969), pp. 25-33.

4. Dewart, p. 175.

5. Ibid., p. 176.

6. Saint Gregory Palamas, *Capita Physica*, cap. 78; PG 150:1176B. See other quotations in Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1968), pp. 33-42. On the unknowability of God in Eastern Christendom see also Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, 2 (Chicago, 1977), 30-36.

7. Dewart, p. 155.

distinguishing between 'essence' (inner-reality) of God—totally transcendent, unreachable, incommunicable, unknowable—and 'energies' of God, as the reality of God which exists outside the essence (τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν), in which God exists outside His inner-reality, creates and sustains creation, descends to us, is immanent in the creation, makes Himself manifest to us, acts in our history of salvation in His magnificent saving acts, bestows His blessings to us, communicates His life to us, transforms, transfigures, deifies our created nature, and makes Himself present to us and to the rest of His creation.⁸

God is 'present' to Himself in His 'essence.' He is present to His creation in His 'energies,' in which He really 'exists,' i.e., makes His reality present to the creation without communicating His 'essence.' God exists as the 'totally Other,' not as another 'being' on top of the ladder of being that we can reach and comprehend with our intellect. God exists not as a nebulous 'presence' unnamed and unknown; He is experienced as a tri-hypostatic presence—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The three hypostases of the 'Triadic'⁹ Christian God are active in creating and restoring the creation. They offer themselves to personal encounter with the other, created hypostases (angelic and human persons).¹⁰ These three hypostases of the Triadic Christian God communicate to the created hypostases their one divine 'nature'

8. See Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, pp. 67-90.

9. 'Triadic' (Τριαδικός) is more congenial to the Eastern Tradition than 'Triune.' Triadic means three who are one; Triune is a unity which consists of three (*trium unitas*). Eastern Tradition considers the persons first, then the one reality of God (divinity) which is behind them. The Western Tradition, on the basis of Saint Augustine, considers the one essence first. The persons are reduced to relationships within the essence.

10. 'Hypostasis' is a better term than 'person.' 'Hypostasis' originally meant 'essence.' The Greek Fathers (Cappadocians) introduced a distinction between two synonymous terms in order to indicate with *οὐσία* (essence) what is common (κοινόν) in God, and what is proper (ἴδιον) to each one of the three hypostases (ὁποσάσεις, person). Hypostasis is a unique way of existing of the one reality (essence and energies) of God. The term can also be applied to human persons, being unique ways of existing of the one Christian nature in Christ.

Dewart hesitates to continue to speak of 'persons' or 'personality' in God: "Christian theism might in the future not conceive God as a person—or indeed as a Trinity of persons. I have already alluded the reason why, namely, the conception of personality with intrinsic reference to the human mode of experience and existence: 'personality is not to be conceived of apart from the act in which it creates itself' [Gabriel Marcel, *Homo Viator* (New York, 1962), p. 25]." See Dewart, p. 185. Yet, there is an alternative: to use the term 'hypostasis,' and also to take this divine hypostasis as the model for the human hypostasis and not vice versa. See Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1974), pp. 111-23.

(II Pet. 1.4), i.e., the reality of God as participable, the 'energies' of God distinct from His essence.

The essence-persons-energies structure in the Triadic Christian God is a unique contribution of Eastern Christendom in Trinitarian (Triadic) theology. To appreciate its importance and relevance today, it is necessary to trace the doctrine through the Christian tradition of the East and to review the many applications that this structure finds in theology.

Scriptural and Patristic Antecedents

Several passages in the Old Testament are interpreted by the theological tradition of the Eastern Church as indicating the divine energies; the most classical of these is Habakkuk 3.3-4: "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of His praise. And His brightness was as the light; He had rays coming forth from His hand: and there was the hiding of His power." All other passages in the Old Testament which speak of the glory of God in the form of a cloud¹¹ or a pillar of light¹² are also interpreted as indicating the energies of God. Another example of these energies is found in the case of the burning bush (Ex. 3.2-4; Deut. 33.16).

It is obvious that these passages are interpreted according to their *sensus plenior*, given to them by the Christian tradition of the East.

Similar passages in the New Testament include all of the passages in which the Kingdom of God is compared with light (Mt. 13.43), in which God is called light (Jn. 1.4, 5, 7, 8, 9; 8.12; 9.5; 12.35, 36, 46), and in which God is said to "dwell in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can see" (I Tim. 6.16). There are also passages in which the Father is called the Father of glory (Eph. 1.17); the Son the brightness of His glory (Heb. 1.3), sharing with the Father the

11. See Ex. 16.10; 19.16; 24.15,16,18; 34.5; 40.34-38; Lev. 16.2; Num. 9.15-22; 10.11,12,34; 11.25; 14.10; 16.42; Deut. 31.15; Job 22.14; 24.7; III Kings 8.10,11; II Ch. 5.13; Ps. 96(97).2; 103(104).3; Wis. 19.7; Za. 2.13(17); Is. 4.5; 19.1; Ezek. 1.20; 30.3; and 31.3,10,14. See also passages speaking of God in terms of *light*: Job 28.11; 29.3; 37.3,11; Ps. 4.6; 35(36).9; 42(43).3; 88(89).15; 103(104).2; Prov. 20.27; Wis. 7.26; Is. 2.5; 51.4; 60.19,20. The references are taken from the Septuagint.

12. See Ex. 13.21,22; 14.19,24; 19.9; 33.9,10; Num. 12.5; 14.14; Deut. 31.15; Ne. 9.12,19; Ps. 98(99).7; and Si 24.4.

same glory (Jn. 17.5); likewise, the Spirit is called the Spirit of glory (I Pet. 4.14). Another case of the manifestation of the energies of God is the light of the transfiguration of Jesus (Mt. 17.2; Mk. 9.2) and the light of His resurrection (Mt. 28.3; Mk. 16.5; Lk. 24.26).

The proof text of the New Testament pertaining to the energies of God is II Peter 1.4: "We have become partakers of the divine nature" (*θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*). Is this text a mere metaphor? Or is it to be taken to the letter? What is the meaning of this "nature"? Is it the 'essence' of God? Is it to be interpreted as indicating the 'immortality' of God, in which man participates? It seems that none of these explanations is satisfactory. The only one which, in our judgment, does justice to the text is the explanation given by the great tradition of the East, according to which this "nature" of God in which we participate is actually the reality of God as 'participable,' i.e., the energies of God, distinct from the essence.

Pseudo-Makarios of Egypt presented seemingly contradictory statements concerning the relation of the soul with God in the life of grace; on the one hand, there is absolute disparity between the soul and God: "The one is God, the other is not God; the one is Lord, the other is servant; the one is creator, the other is creature . . . and their natures have nothing in common."¹³ On the other hand, the author speaks of "changing the soul into the divine nature."¹⁴ How is it that both statements may be true? The underlying doctrine is that God is the entirely Other in His essence, whereas He may be participated in through His energies which transfigure the human soul.

The ante-Nicaean Fathers use the term 'energies' of God. Yet, there is still confusion between the Logos of God as a 'hypostatic' energy of God and the energies of God as 'enhypostasized,' as Saint Gregory Palamas specifies later. Thus, Athenagoras the Apologist, commenting on Romans 1.19-20, interprets "those things that can be known of God" (*τὰ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*) in two different ways: either he applies this to the Logos, being "Wisdom and Power" of God, or to the

13. Pseudo-Makarios of Egypt, *Homily* 49; PG 34:816B.

14. Idem, *Homily* 44,8; PG 34:784C.

energies of God, common operations of the Holy Trinity.¹⁵

Saint Athanasios gives us a clear distinction between the 'essence' and the powers and bounties ('energies') of God: "He is everything by His goodness (*ἀγαθότητα*), but outside of everything by His own nature (*φύσιν*)."¹⁶

This same structure of essence and energies in the one reality of God is fully exploited by the Cappadocian Fathers in their attempt to defend the Nicaean *homoousios* (of one essence) of the three hypostases (persons) in the Trinity. The newness of their attempt is not in introducing a distinction between the 'essential' and the 'economic' Trinity, as it has been wrongly assessed by the Dominican School of Paris, France.¹⁷ This distinction was present in the pre-Nicaean period as well. The passage quoted above from Saint Athanasios is a witness to this doctrine, which in turn goes back to the Apologists, the Apostolic Fathers and the Scripture itself, as quoted above. The real newness of the Cappadocian Fathers with regard to the pre-Nicaean period and to the Council of Nicaea is that they introduce a distinction between two synonymous terms, *οὐσία* (essence) and *ὑπόστασις* (hypostasis).¹⁸ 'Essence' is 'what is common' (*τὸ κοινόν*) to the three persons; 'hypostasis' is 'what is proper' (*τὸ ἴδιον*) to each of them.¹⁹ Actually, this *hypostasis* remains identical with the 'essence,' as much and as far as it is a unique *mode of existing* of this essence. The three unique modes of existing are the three persons, or, better, *hypostases* of the Christian God.

Each of the three *hypostases* is *homoousios* with the others. Yet, the hypostases always take precedence over the 'essence.'

15. Athenagoras, *Libellus pro Christianis*, 10; PG 6:908B.

16. "Καὶ ἐν πᾶσι μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα, ἔξω δὲ τῶν πάντων πάλω ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν." St. Athanasios, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, ii; PG 25:441D.

17. See M. J. Le Guillou, O.P., *Le mystère du Père* (Paris, 1973); and J. M. Garrigues, "Procession et ekporèse du Saint Esprit," *Istina* 17 (1972), 345-66.

18. The *anathema* at the end of Nicaean Creed identifies the two terms: "those who say that he [the Son of God] is from another hypostasis (*ὑποστάσεως*) or essence (*οὐσίας*) are anathematized by the catholic Church." See J. H. Leith, *Creeds of the Churches* (Atlanta, 1977), p. 31.

19. See Saint Basil, *Letter* 38,6; PG 32:336C. (Note that this letter is attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa by modern patristic scholarship.) See also Saint Basil, *Adversus Eunomium*, 1,10; PG 29:553C-36D; idem, 2,24; PG 29:625C; also *Letter* 52,3; PG 32:396A.

It is the hypostases that we encounter in God, not the essence ('essential' Trinity). The hypostases manifest themselves to us in the plan of salvation (economy), in which they take a personal part (economic Trinity). For it is the 'energies' alone of the three hypostases that descend toward us, whereas the essence remains hidden and unreachable.²⁰

This distinction between the 'essence' of the three hypostases and "things that are around the essence" (τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν), or the 'properties' of the essence (περιθεωρούμενα ιδιώματα) is present, we have seen, in the pre-Nicaean tradition as well. The Cappadocian Fathers insist on a 'personalistic' (three-hypostatic) interpretation of the mystery of our Christian God, being not only a hidden, transcendent 'essence,' but manifesting Himself in this world as the creator and redeemer, through the 'energies' of His three hypostases.

Pseudo-Dionysios also distinguishes in God between 'unions' (ἐνώσεις) and 'distinctions' (διακρίσεις). The 'unions' are the hidden essence of God, in an absolute repose, which does not manifest itself in any way. The 'distinctions,' also called 'processions' (πρόοδοι), 'manifestations' (ἐκφάνσεις), and 'powers' (δυνάμεις), are partaken of by the creation, thus making God known to it.²¹

Saint Maximos the Confessor is also one of the main exponents of the doctrine of essence-persons-energies. He says: "God is participable (μεθεκτός) in what He imparts to us (μεταδόσεις); but He is not participable (ἀμέθεκτος) in the incommunicability of His essence."²² Saint Maximos applies the essence-will-energy structure to the person of Christ. Christ exists "in two natures," united eternally without division, according to the Council of Chalcedon. Will and energy do not belong to the person, but to the nature (essence). Thus, each

20. See Saint Basil, *Letter 234*; PG 32:869AB. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζωμεν λέγομεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τῇ δὲ οὐσίᾳ προσεγγίζωμεν οὐχ ὑπωχυνόμεθα· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος." [We may say that we know our God from His energies (activities), but we do not profess to approach His essence—for His energies descend to us, but His essence remains inaccessible.]

21. See Pseudo-Dionysios, *De divinis nominibus*, 2,24; PG 3, 640. Also, *ibid.*, PG 3, 649-52.

22. "Μεθεκτός μὲν ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὰς μεταδόσεις αὐτοῦ, ἀμέθεκτος δὲ κατὰ τὸ μηδὲν μετέχον αὐτῆς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ." Quoted from St. Maximos by Euthymios Zigabenos in *Dogmatic Panoplia*, 3; PG 130:132A.

of the two natures has its own will and energy. This distinction from Saint Maximos' theology is taken up by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681), which advocates "two natural willings or wills in him (Christ) and two natural operations, without change, without partition, without confusion, according to the teaching of the holy fathers."²³

Saint John of Damascus, summarizing the previous tradition, also speaks of the divine energies as 'movements' (κίνησις) or 'rush' (ἔξαλαμα) of God.²⁴

Finally, the doctrine finds its best expression during the hesychast controversy in the dogmatical works of Saint Gregory Palamas and the Councils of the middle of the fourteenth century, which canonized his doctrine.

The Hesychast Controversy

For the hesychasts of Byzantium, the apex of mystical experience was the contemplation of the Divine Uncreated Light. This Light was associated with the light that the disciples saw at the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. How can this vision be possible if God is transcendent and unapproachable, according to the apophatic theology of the East, especially as found in Pseudo-Dionysios?

This question was asked of the hesychasts by Barlaam, a learned Greek from Calabria, Italy. Barlaam was professing God's otherness and unknowability in an extreme form. Being a nominalist, he could not accept any direct knowledge of God. The hesychastic experience of God could not be an immediate experience, for such an experience is impossible. The light that these hesychasts pretended to see was, according to Barlaam, a created light. Barlaam addressed his attacks against the hesychasts, accusing them of gross materialism.²⁵ Barlaam was later joined in his attacks against hesychasm by Akindynos, a Byzantine humanist who was very sympathetic to Western Scholasticism.²⁶

23. Definition of the Council, in Leith, *Creeds*, p. 51.

24. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, 1,4; PG 94:800BC.

25. See Barlaam the Calabrian, *Letter 3*, "To Gregory Palamas, Apologeticus, or against sophisms," and *Letter 4*, "To Ignatios, hesychast," and *Letter 5*, "To the same (Ignatios)," in Giuseppe Schirò, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole Greche, i primordi episodici e dottrinali delle lotte esicaste* (Palermo, 1954), pp. 279-324.

26. Concerning Barlaam, see John Meyendorff, "Un mauvais théologien de

Against Barlaam and Akindynos, Saint Gregory Palamas undertook the defense of the holy hesychasts.²⁷ In order for Saint Gregory to explain how it is possible for the holy hesychasts to see the Uncreated Light of God without compromising God's transcendence, he recurred to the patristic distinction between essence and energies in God. God is transcendent, the 'Wholly Other,' in His essence. But He is immanent, present to the creation, acting in history, through His uncreated energies. These uncreated energies are part of the divine reality. They are the life of God, the deifying grace; they are that same light that the disciples saw on Mount Tabor surrounding the glorious humanity of the Lord.²⁸

The hidden God, a trinity of persons, makes Himself present to the world through 'enhypostasized' energies of God. The essence cannot exist without its energies, as it cannot exist without the hypostases (persons). Vice versa, the essence is the 'cause' of the energies. Through the energies, the 'indivisible' God is 'multiplied,' being present to every single creature in the world with His multi-named energies.²⁹

Several Councils (1341, 1347, 1351) sanctioned the doctrine of Saint Gregory Palamas and proclaimed it to be the authentic doctrine of the Church. As of the year 1368, nine years after his death (†1359), Gregory Palamas was 'recognized' (canonized) as a Saint of the Church and was given a cult. The same year, the decisions of the 'Palamite' Councils were introduced in the

l'unité au XIV^e siècle: Barlaam le Calabrais," in *1054-1954: L'Eglise et les Eglises*, II (Chevetogne, 1954), 47-64. As for Akindynos, see Leonidas Contos, "The Concept of Theosis in Saint Gregory Palamas with Critical Text of the 'Contra Akindynum,'" D. Phil. Thesis (Oxford, no date), pp. 139-45. For both Barlaam and Akindynos, see John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1964), pp. 42-62. Various articles on the Hesychast Controversy are found in John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London, 1974).

27. See Greek text and French translation of the *Triads* for the defense of the holy hesychasts in Jean Meyendorff, *Grégoire Palamas, Défense des saints hésychastes* (Louvain, 1959). Also, see text of the "Contra Akindynum" of the same St. Gregory Palamas in L. Contos, "The Concept of Theosis," pp. 1-570, and L. Kontoyannis - V. Fanourgakis, eds. *Gregorion tou Palama Syggrammata*, vol. III, *Antirretikoi pros Akindynon* (Thessalonica, 1970).

28. For a summary of this doctrine, see John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), pp. 76-78, and Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Middlesex, 1975), pp. 76-79; for a more detailed presentation, see John Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, pp. 116-240.

29. See Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, pp. 202-27.

Synodikon of Orthodoxy, to be read every first Sunday of the Great Lent in the Eastern Churches.

The basic doctrine on the energies established by the Palamite Councils finds its expression in the following excerpt of the *Tome* of the Council of 1351:

We know this energy to be a substantial and essential movement of God and we say that it proceeds and flows from the divine essence as an everflowing source. It is never contemplated without this essence, but always remains unseparated from it. From all eternity it exists with, and is inseparably united to, the divine essence, completely unable to be separated from it by eternity or by any distance of time or space.³⁰

Contemporary Controversy

Father Meyendorff's assessment of the victory of Palamite theology in the fourteenth century is as follows:

The victory of Palamism in the fourteenth century was therefore the victory of a specifically Christian, God-centered humanism for which the Greek patristic tradition always stood, in opposition to all concepts of man which considered him as an autonomous or 'secular' being. Its essential intuition that 'deification' does not suppress humanity, but makes man truly human, is, of course, greatly relevant for our own contemporary concerns: man can be fully 'human' only if he restores his lost communion with God.³¹

The *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* by the same Father Meyendorff, published in France in 1959,³² made the doctrine of the great Father known, and clarified quite a few misconceptions about Palamism for the West.

The recent attack against the doctrine of the 'theologian of grace' by the Dominican School of *Istina*, Paris, France, came as a surprise to Orthodox theologians. One can understand the hesitations of the West in accepting the doctrine of Saint Gregory Palamas by the traditional Roman Catholic theology of the

30. *Tome* of the Council of 1351; PG 151:73B. See also the *Synodikon*, in *Triodion* (Phos, Athens, 1967), pp. 162-64.

31. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 78.

32. Jean Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959).

school, as indicated by Father Contos in the following statement:

Thus underlying the central problem of theology, that of equating the total transcendence with the total immanence of God, are fundamental conceptual differences. The Greek Fathers postulate with substantial unanimity a distinction between the absolute simplicity of God in His essence and the multiplicity and communicability of His [un]created energies. Augustinian theology, in positing a human soul superior to and independent of the body, susceptible to illumination from above but lacking any inherent capability for volitional participation in the uncreated powers of the uncreated Being, must find all essence-energies theology couched in a foreign language. Western reaction to this day has been largely an echo of Pétau's assessment of Palamite thought: 'ridicula dogmata' (Lossky, V., "Vision de Dieu," Neuchatel, 1961, pp. 17-19; 137-38). So the entire issue of divine grace and human freedom turns on an axis which at its one pole demands firm support on rational ground; at the other finds satisfaction in apophatic expression.³³

One would expect that in the present ecumenical era, especially following Vatican II, the theology of the great hesychast Father would have been seen in a different—non-polemical—context, and placed in its true light. My own professor at Louvain, the late Mgr. Gerald Philips, wrote his *Grâce et Œcuménisme* to tell the West that the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas is a valid alternative to Thomism. According to Mgr. Philips, Saint Thomas Aquinas tries to explain what happens to man in the 'status' of grace. Thomas speaks of 'created grace' as the effect of the divine work in man, whereas Saint Gregory Palamas tries to understand what in God makes it possible for God to communicate His life to man, speaking of the uncreated energies of God.³⁴

Father Meyendorff recently expressed his amazement at the attack against Palamism by the *Istina* theologians:³⁵

33. Contos, "The Concept of Theosis," p. 11.

34. Ch. Moeller - G. Philips, *Grâce et Œcuménisme* (Chevetogne, 1957), pp. 22-49.

35. See *Istina* 3 (1974), 257-338; articles by J. Ph. Houdret, O.C.D., "Palamas

Interestingly, however, the old issue raised by Guichardan and Jugie about the incompatibility between palamism and thomism was recently raised again by a group of Roman Catholic theologians in an issue of the French periodical *Istina*. The major point made by the authors is that the real distinction between essence, person and energy in God is proper to Palamas, but not to the great tradition of the Greek Fathers and that, consequently, the thomistic position which denies the distinction as destroying the notion of God's 'simplicity' is really more consistent with the catholic, as expressed particularly by Maximus the Confessor, than palamism. The point is made with a certain virulence. Contemporary Orthodox theologians are accused of having reinvented palamism (which otherwise would have been forgotten not only in the West but also in the East) simply because they had to answer Jugie's attack against their Church, but they are not able to answer the basic arguments of Jugie: palamism, in its affirmation of the distinction between essence and energy, revives a neoplatonic conception of participation in God, adopts a false idea of God's transcendence, and is even guilty of monoenergism.

The rather sharp character of these attacks against palamism—even if they are somehow covered up with scholarly and ecumenical jargon—stands in sharp contrast with the prevailing and overwhelming comprehensiveness of contemporary Roman Catholic theology. (Is it not remarkable that, of all things, palamism would provoke such passions at a time when so many Roman Catholic churchmen would go any distance to meet the concerns of practically everybody under the sky?)³⁶

Father Meyendorff provides his own response to the *Istina* polemicists, indicating to them that the palamite existentialism and personalism is a valid alternative to the Augustinian and

et les Cappadociens," pp. 260-71; J. M. Garrigues, O.P., "L'énergie divine et la grâce chez Maxime le Confesseur," pp. 272-96; J. S. Nadal, S.J., "La critique par Akindynos de l'herméneutique patristique de Palamas," pp. 297-328; and M. T. Le Guillou, O.P., "Lumière et charité dans la doctrine palamite de la divinisation," pp. 329-38.

36. John Meyendorff, "The Holy Trinity in Palamite Theology," in *Trinitarian Theology East and West* (Brookline, Mass., 1977), pp. 27-28.

Thomistic essentialism.³⁷ Before him, two more Orthodox theologians responded to the *Istina* essayists: Prof. George Barrois and Prof. Chrestos Yannaras.³⁸ Both of these theologians refute the positions taken by the *Istina* school after which they move to the counterattack. George Barrois writes:

The two versions of soteriology, the version of western scholasticism and the version of Palamism, are incompatible . . . we have to make a choice . . . Shall we opt for a western view of the divine economy toward man? In that case we will have to face the manifold *hiatus* which breaks the flow of western theological thought: how to pass from an abstract *deitas* to the living God? How to liberate the *Actus Purus*, a prisoner of its own transcendence? How to bridge the natural theology of the treatises *De Deo Uno* and the dogma of the Trinity of Persons? How to relate the natural to the supernatural and yet preserve the unity of the divine plan? How to connect the order of redemption? How to articulate dogmatics, ethics, and mystical experience, individual and collective?³⁹

Chrestos Yannaras is even more rigorous when he addresses his criticisms not only to the *Istina* essayists, but to the entire West:

The transference of the knowledge of God from the realm of direct personal manifestation through the natural energies to the level of intellectual and rational approximation of an 'active' divine essence, had as unavoidable results the sharpest antithetical separation between the transcendent and the immanent, the 'banishment' of God into the realm of the empirically inaccessible, the schizophrenic divorce of faith from knowledge, the recessive waves of rebellion of western man against the theological presuppositions of his own civilization, the rapid fading away of religion in the West and the appearance of nihilism and irrationalism as fundamental existential categories of western man.⁴⁰

37. Ibid., pp. 30-33.

38. George Barrois, "Palamism Revisited," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19.4 (1975), 211-31; and Chrestos Yannaras, "The Distinction Between Essence and Energies and its Importance for Theology," *ibid.*, pp. 232-45.

39. Ibid., p. 229.

40. Ibid., p. 244.

It is important to note that not all theologians in the West accepted the positions taken by the *Istina* essayists; an authoritative Roman Catholic voice from Louvain, Father André de Halleux, asserts with emphasis the continuity of the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas with that of the tradition of the Greek Fathers. However, his position is as conciliatory as that of the late Mgr. Philips: the two positions, Thomism and Palamism, represent for him two valid expressions of the Christian Gospel in the *Una Sancta*.⁴¹

The recent revival of the hesychast controversy indicates that the issue discussed by Saint Gregory Palamas and his adversaries during the fourteenth century is still a burning issue, touching upon one of the most basic truths of Christianity—the problem of the nature of relationships between God and man, and the problem of human destiny.

The doctrine of the essence-persons-energies structure as established by the great patristic tradition of the East and as expressed systematically by Saint Gregory Palamas finds many applications in the theological domain. It is important to review these applications.

Applications of the Doctrine of the Energies in Theology

The doctrine of the energies of God finds multiple applications throughout the entire theological domain. The energies of God are part of the divine reality in the Holy Trinity; they are the foundation of the creation; they are present in the image of God in man; they make the revelation of God possible; they offer an explanation of the way of union of the two natures in Christ; they explain the two ways of presence of the Holy Spirit, before and after Pentecost; they explain deification and the life of grace; they enlighten the doctrine of sacraments, and especially the Eucharist.

The Holy Trinity

The three persons of the Holy Trinity not only share in the one essence of God, but also in the energies of God, which are 'around the essence' (περι τὴν οὐσίαν).⁴² Each of the three

41. André de Halleux, "Palamisme et scholastique," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 4 (1973), 409-23; also, "Palamisme et tradition," *Irénikon* 48.4 (1975), 224.

42. See M. Aghiorgoussis, "Image as 'Sign' (Semeion) of God," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21.1 (1976), 35, quoting St. Basil.

persons not only fully possesses the one essence of God, but also possesses the fullness of the energies of God, which flow out of the essence while not being the essence. Both essence and energies are the one 'reality' of God.

The energies of God, being eternally present in God as the extension of the divine essence, are not 'accidental beings.' The energies are not 'hypostatic beings,' either. They are part of the one reality of God which is behind the three hypostases (persons) of the divinity. At the same time, the energies, being the means and vehicle through which God creates, are not eternally creating. God keeps His freedom in creating the world. He creates time and space as He wishes, out of non-being and non-existence.

The energies of God are the "magnificent attributes of God which surround the essence" (*τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν θεωρούμενα ιδιώματα*).⁴³ A modern Eastern Orthodox theologian, Philaret of Moscow, describes the energies as the glory of God, which at the same time hides the essence but also makes manifest the inner perfection of God.⁴⁴

The energies of God are the equivalent of the attributes of God of the Great Scholasticism. The difference is that these attributes-energies have nothing 'static' in themselves: they are not abstractions that we make concerning the qualities of God. They are 'active manifestations' of the divine reality, as it can be manifested to man and known by him. They are the divine reality which descends to us, while the essence remains unapproachable.⁴⁵

Each one of the three persons in the Trinity possesses the same 'enhypostatic' energies of the one divine reality in His own order: the Father possesses the energies in the way of the source and origin; He eternally communicates the one reality of God (essence and energies) to the Son and to the Spirit. The Son possesses that same reality in the way of generation from the Father. The Spirit, too, possesses this same reality in the way

43. Ibid.

44. Philaret of Moscow, *Choix de sermons et de discours*, I (Paris, 1866), 3-4; quoted by V. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 75.

45. Saint Basil, *Letter* 234; PG 32:869AB. On the essence-energies structure in God according to the doctrine of Gregory Palamas see L. Contos, "The Essence-Energies Structure of Saint Gregory Palamas with a Brief Examination of its Patristic Foundation," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12.3 (1967), 283-94.

of procession from the Father. In the manifestation of God, the energies of God reach us in the same order as they exist in the Trinity: in the Trinity the energies originate in the Father, they abide in the Son, and they shine in the Holy Spirit. As they manifest themselves outside of God, they come from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit.⁴⁶

In the order of the creation and the restoration of the world, the energies of God are used in the same order: the creative and restoring energy of God originates in the Father; it is actualized through the Son; and it is perfected in the Holy Spirit.⁴⁷

Creation

Eastern theology has no difficulty in explaining the creation as a free act of the will of God. The doctrine of the energies allows it to explain how it is possible for God to create without communicating His essence.

The foundation of creation is not the essence, but the will and the energies of God. The will of God, distinct from the essence, sides with the energies of God. It is this will, or 'thought will' (θελητική ἔννοια)⁴⁸ of God which is distinct from the essence and part of 'what is after the essence' (i.e., the realm of the energies of God), that explains the creation without emanation of the essence of God. It is proper for a personal God, the Trinity, to create freely, according to His decision executed by His will. Creation is called into existence by this 'thought will' of God, through the means of the creative energy of God.

Creation, based on the 'thought wills' of God, distinct from the essence, has nothing to do with the platonic or neoplatonic explanation of the origin of the world. Creation is not the poor reflection of the perfect "World of Ideas," or an 'emanation' from the 'One.' Saint Augustine's platonizing doctrine on the

46. See Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, pp. 216-20. Also, M. Ed. Hussey, "The Persons-Energy Structure in the Theology of St. Gregory Palamas," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 18.1 (1974), 22-43.

47. See Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, pp. 21-24.

48. See Saint Maximos the Confessor, *Scholia*: PG 4:317; also, *De Ambiguis* 7; PG 91:1081C and Saint John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, 1:9; PG 94:837. See Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 129-34; Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 97-99; G. Florovsky, *Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, Mass., 1976), pp. 52-62.

ideas in the essence of God as the *causa exemplaris* of created beings presents the problem of how to avoid the introduction or projection of the created being into the essence of God. A better approach is offered by the platonizing doctrine of John Scotus Eriugena pertaining to the *natura creata creans* (Plato's 'world of ideas'), inasmuch as this doctrine places these created and creative 'ideas' outside of the essence of God. Yet, it is difficult to see how this doctrine avoids the neoplatonic emanations. In fact, these 'ideas,' even if they are 'created,' still seem to belong to the domain of the essence of God. John Scotus Eriugena was still unable to make the distinction between uncreated essence and uncreated energies in God, both of them being a part of the one divine reality.⁴⁹

The 'thought wills' in God, the basis of God's creation, are at the same time the 'destination' (*προορισμός*) of this creation.⁵⁰ Thus, creation is dynamic. It is called to achieve its 'destination,' to become God-like. It is called to be united with God, to be deified. God, being in eternal rest, attracts to Himself everything that exists in the world, both visible and invisible. The creation has its purpose outside of itself, that is, in God. God puts His love (loving energy) into the creation, so that the creation might be in constant movement towards Him.⁵¹

The energies of God, being present in the creation, keep the creation in being and govern it to achieve its goal, *theosis*. There is nothing such as an 'independent nature' in the theology of the Greek Fathers. 'Nature' always depends on 'supernature,' God. God's grace (energies) is necessary in order for the 'nature' to continue to be authentic. Nature deprived of grace is no longer true, authentic nature. It moves towards inauthentic existence. The only authentic existence for nature is for it to be dependent upon the energies of God. It is from these energies that creation has both its 'being' and its 'well-being,' let alone its 'eternal being,' in communion with the eternal God.

49. See Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 96.

50. Ibid., pp. 96-97. The name *προορισμός* is coined by Pseudo-Dionysios in *De divinis nominibus*, 5.2.8; PG 3, 817 and 824.

51. See Saint Maximos, *De ambiguis*; PG 91:1260C. See Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 97-99.

Anthropology

Man has a very special place in God's creation—a creation that moves toward God. This movement and this dynamism are applied in a special way to man, for he is an 'image' of God called to achieve 'likeness' with God. The 'image' of God in man is not so much what distinguishes him from animals insofar as the physical point of view (reason and freedom of choice) is concerned; more importantly, it is the life of God which is present in man; it is the love of God, one of His energies, which is communicated to man in order to keep him in constant communion with God. Man achieves his destiny to be a person according to his divine archetype if he grows in this love which is put in him by God. Man achieves likeness with God and becomes a real person only when he relates to God and to human persons in love. Otherwise man is not in the image of God, he is not God-like, he is not a true person, he is not truly human: he becomes less than human.

Man's sin is his failure to live up to the standards of God's love in him—his failure to live up to the standards of the image of God. Thus, he divides human nature and becomes an 'individual,' not a true human person. This is the darkening and tarnishing distortion of the image of God in man. His salvation is to regain God's love and to be restored as an image of God, as a God-like being, as a true human person.⁵²

Revelation

The doctrine of the energies makes the 'revelation' (unveiling) of God possible. God remains transcendent hidden (*Deus absconditus*) in His essence. But He is present to the world in His energies. He reveals whatever can be known of Him (*γνωστόν*) to the creation: His power, His wisdom, His holiness, His love (Rom. 1.18-20). God also reveals Himself to the human conscience, writing in the human heart His divine law (Rom. 2.14-16). Inasmuch as man still—in spite of the fall—allows the image of God to continue to be in him, even though distorted, he continues to feel the dislocation when his life is not in agreement with the will of God, to which his undistorted conscience bears witness. But there is also a more direct way in which God

52. See Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 114-34.

speaks to man and reveals Himself and His purposes to him: being 'capable of God,' on the basis of the image of God that the Creator and Illuminator Logos imprints in him (Jn. 1.3, 9-13), man is receptive to the operation of the Holy Spirit in him. The wisdom of God is revealed to him in the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 2.6-13), this wisdom being nothing other than the hidden mystery of God: Christ, "in whom are hidden the treasures of wisdom and knowledge of God" (Col. 2.2-3). This revelation, for the period of the Old Covenant, is effectuated through the energies of the creative Logos and the energies of the perfecting Spirit. In the New Covenant period, the Logos becomes the enhypostasized Truth of God, and the Spirit becomes the Spirit of this same Truth. The experience of this Truth is only possible through faith, being itself another grace (energy) of God. In the words of Father Florovsky:

In the experience of faith the world reveals itself differently than in the experience of 'natural man.' Revelation is not only Revelation about God but also about the world. For the fullness of Revelation is in the image of the God-Man; that is, in the fact of the ineffable union of God and Man, of the Divine and the human, of the Creator and the creature—in the indivisible unmerged union forever. It is precisely the Chalcedonian dogma of the unity of the God-Man which is the true, decisive point of Revelation, and of the experience of faith and of Christian vision.⁵³

This is to say that Revelation is communion with God, participation in divine life, and the experience of the presence of God among men (Emmanuel). This participation is not possible without God being able to share His life with us—and doing this without communicating His essence. This life, a life in abundance, is the energies of God.

Christology

The Son of God came so that we may have life, a life in abundance (Jn. 10.10). He became what we are so that we might become what He is; He became man so that we might become gods by grace (deified).⁵⁴

53. Florovsky, *Redemption*, p. 34.

54. See statements of the Fathers: St. Irenaeos, *Adversus haereses*, 5, Preface;

Theosis is transfiguration, transformation of human nature by the presence of the divine; it is a reality which takes place in the humanity of Christ the very moment of His conception. Christ's humanity, being indwelt (*περιχωρεῖσθαι*)⁵⁵ by the divinity, i.e., being permeated by the energies of God in the same manner that iron is permeated by fire,⁵⁶ becomes God-like, i.e., divine-energies-like. The Lord's transfiguration on Mount Tabor is explained by the theological tradition of the East as a manifestation of these energies. The humanity of Jesus becomes momentarily transparent so that the 'rays of the divine glory,' always present in the humanity of Jesus, show through this humanity.⁵⁷ This same glory is seen by the disciples during the manifestations of the Lord after His glorious resurrection from the dead.⁵⁸ This transfiguration, which at the beginning is the restoration of the image of God in the humanity of Jesus, that is, the restoration of Love in humanity, is expanded from Christ to the Christian, from the Anointed One to the anointed ones. The human nature of Jesus, being *enhypostatos* in the hypostasis of the Logos,⁵⁹ is permeated with the same *enhypostatoi* energies present in the divinity, flowing out of the divine essence. At the same time, on the basis of the *perichoresis* (co-inherence) of the persons at the level of the Holy Trinity, the Spirit becomes the Anointment of the flesh of Jesus; for it is through the Spirit—and with the synergy of the Spirit—that everything is created by the Logos and made perfect in the Spirit. The humanity of Christ is no exception.

PG 7:1120; St. Athanasios, *De incarnatione Verbi*, 54; PG 25:192B; St. Gregory Nazianzus, *Poemata dogmatica*, 10, 5-9; PG 37:465; and St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica magna*, 25; PG 45:65D.

55. See G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London, 1969), pp. 291-95.

56. See Saint Maximos the Confessor, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*; PG 91:337C; *De ambiguis*; PG 91:1060A. Cf. St. John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, 3.15; PG 94:1053D-1056A. Cf. Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, p. 146.

57. Lossky, *ibid.*, pp. 148-50.

58. *Ibid.*

59. The term *enhypostatos* originates in Leontios of Byzantium. See John Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, DC, 1969), pp. 48-49. Also, D. B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1970), pp. 69-85.

Pneumatology

The Spirit, related to the energies of God in the way of 'procession from the Father,' and related to the created world and to man as the 'perfecting cause,' has the mission of perfecting the image of God in man. This image, imprinted in man by the Creative Logos according to the Archetype of the person of the Father, must grow in love and become more God-like through a love encounter with God. To grow in likeness with God was the task of the first man. This man had the energies of the Spirit at his disposal. In the restored order of creation through redemption and deification in Christ, the Spirit is still the perfecting cause. The restored image in Christ is made available to us through the Spirit of God. The Spirit comes to fulfill the plan of divine economy. He is sent by the Father and the Son; yet, He comes on His own will and authority (*αὐτεξουσίως*). He applies the saving and deifying energy of God—made available to the human nature in Christ—to each person individually.

This saving and deifying uncreated energy of God is called in theological terms: 'grace,' a free gift. It is the gift of divine life offered freely to man by the Spirit of God. For the Spirit is indeed the 'source of sanctification' (*πηγή τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ*).⁶⁰

The sacramental life of the Church is the means through which this new life in Christ—the saving and deifying energy of God—is offered to man. Baptism by water and the Spirit constitutes the entrance to this newness of life in Christ, which is also called 'the Kingdom of God.' It is a life of participation in the Lord's death and resurrection through a new Easter (Baptism); it is a 'charismatic' and 'pentecostal' life, through a new Pentecost (confirmation, the seal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit). The love of God, the supreme gift (*charisma*) of the Spirit, is poured again into our hearts.

Jesus, the God-Man, reaches us not only 'symbolically' in an ethical and imaginary way, but also actually, 'ontologically' and existentially in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. The same energies of God—contemplated on Mount Tabor by the disciples, seen in the glorious risen humanity of Jesus, and accompanying this humanity "at the right hand of God the

60. See Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 156-68.

Father"—these same energies are present in the eucharistic gifts which lie upon the altar. The Holy Eucharist is the sacrament of communion with the glorious humanity of Jesus, becoming a "medication of incorruption" (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας) for those who partake of it worthily. It becomes the nourishment of the new life in Christ, vitalizing the Christian with the energy of Christ.⁶¹

Theosis

The gift of the Holy Spirit, the "pledge of the future gifts," is a personal encounter with the Spirit, which enriches us with the life of God. The communication of this life—the deifying energy of God—through this personal encounter with the Spirit of God is called *theosis* in the language of the East. The Spirit makes us partakers of the life (nature) of God, as advocated in II Peter 1.4. This 'ontological' identification with the life of God brings about not as much a 'psychological' as an 'existential' identification with God: there is common activity between the divine and the human agent; the Spirit takes over, praying in our hearts: "Abba, Father!" (Gal. 4.6).⁶²

The theology of Saint Gregory Palamas, as presented by Father Contos, summarizes well what I have tried to say on the energies of God and their application in the domain of theology with, at their summit, *theosis*, i.e., life in communion with God as He offers it to us in a personal encounter with all three persons of the All-Holy Trinity. Father Contos says:

While the *ὑπέρθεος*, to continue in the Dionysian idiom, remains for Palamas totally transcendent, yet the promise of Christ, explicit in John 14.23, must be realized as a true indwelling, by the communication *ἐν μέτρῳ*, of the incommunicable God through His *θεοποιὸν ἐνέργειαν*, that is, deifying grace. Similarly, the promise of the Secunda Petri, equally explicit, is realized as that mystical encounter which the whole Palamite theology purposes to explain: In its uncreated energies the divine nature, without loss or compromise of its divinity, and the nature of man, without change

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-71.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-73.

from its creatureliness, come together in a union of grace. In the expression of St. Maximos the Confessor, which is a keystone in the structure of Palamas' thought, 'All that God is, save for an identity in essence, we become when deified by grace.'⁶³

Christian Existentialism

The theology of Saint Gregory Palamas with regard to the quality of our relations with God has been qualified as "an existential theology" by Father J. Meyendorff.⁶⁴ One can discuss this qualification. What is meant by Father Meyendorff is that this theology is a 'personalistic' theology: persons take priority over existence, and existence takes priority over essence. J. P. Sartre says as much, when he says that "existence comes before essence."⁶⁵ George Barrois is correct in his estimation of Palamism (in direct continuity with the theology of the Greek Fathers) when he says:

The primacy of existence is the principle underlying the philosophy of Palamas, which, we beg to insist, is not developed for itself, but definitely as a part of a teleological scheme reaching beyond the limits of the rational. The existentialism of Palamas . . . has of course little to do with the philosophies of J. G. Hamann, Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre and others, or with the chains of consequences which they draw from their axioms. A fortiori we may forget the odd characters sitting at the terrace of the 'Deux Magots' or the 'Café de Flore.' If the rubric 'existentialism' still sounds offensive, we may as well substitute for it 'metaphysics of the existent,' a term used by Gilson and by Fr. Chenu, O.P.⁶⁶

Whatever the rubric might be, what is important is to realize that the theology of the Greek Fathers takes the persons in the Trinity seriously, and that our life in communion with God is

63. "Πάντα ὅσα ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὁ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τεθεωμένους ἔσται, χωρὶς τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ταυτότητος." St. Gregory Palamas, *Theophanes*; PG 150:944C, quoting St. Maximos the Confessor, *De Ambiguis*; PG 91:1308B. See L. Contos, "The Essence-Energies Structure," p. 294.

64. Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, pp. 202-27.

65. J. P. Sartre, *L'Existentialisme est un humanisme* (Paris, 1962), pp. 17ff.

66. G. Barrois, "Palamism Revisited," p. 222.

seen in personalistic terms as a personal encounter with God. An essence which does not exist is a dead essence; an essence which is not a person is an object. God cannot be either of these things.

M. Edmund Hussey is right when he writes, with regard to the theology of the Greek Fathers in general, and especially the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas:

There is no place in the patristic tradition for a theology that is exclusively concerned with the divine essence. The goal of Eastern Christian spirituality has always been, above all, a participation in the life of the three divine persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Consequently we can expect to find, and actually do find, a strong emphasis on personalism in Gregory's thought. 'In fact,' he tells us, 'God himself exists and to him belong the divine essence and the divine energy.'⁶⁷ The fact that the one God possesses the divine energy is stressed repeatedly: 'The holy fathers do not say that all this [essence and energy] is one thing, but that it belongs to only one God.'⁶⁸

The essence and energies of God belong to concrete persons, to the three persons of our Christian God. They cannot exist by themselves, in a kind of theological vacuum, detached from the persons. To quote Father Meyendorff:

This well-known distinction [between essence and energies in God]—which is seen as the very basic palamite concept—is fully comprehensible only when it is seen in the framework of a person-energy structure. A discussion of palamism which would ignore the fact that the God of Palamas is a personal, *trinitarian* God is bound to lead into a dead end.⁶⁹

The distinction between essence and energies in the personal, *Triadic* God stresses both the *otherness* of God, the basis of true personal existence, and also the *reality* of communion with

67. St. Gregory Palamas, *Contra Gregoras* II; quoted by J. Meyendorff in *A Study of Palamas*, p. 215.

68. M. Ed. Hussey, "The Persons-Energy Structure," p. 23. This last quotation is from *Contra Akindynum* V, 13, in Contos, "The Concept of Theosis," p. 344. See text published in Kontoyannis-Fanourgakis, *Palama Antirretikoi pros Akindynon*, p. 323.

69. Meyendorff, "The Holy Trinity in Palamite Theology," p. 31.

God, a communion which takes place in a personal encounter with Him as concrete persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The energies belong to persons, through which these persons communicate themselves to the creation. Father Meyendorff says:

Repeatedly in the writings of St. Gregory Palamas one finds the expression that divine energies—or the uncreated light—are ‘hypostatic’ (ὕποστατικὸν φῶς) or ‘en-hypostatic’ (ἐνυπόστατον). Most often, this expression occurs in quotations borrowed from the writings of Pseudo-Macarius, a spiritual writer prized by the Byzantine hesychasts because of his doctrine of deification, which he sees as a conscious encounter with the living God.⁷⁰

Contemporary atheistic existentialism (J. P. Sartre) speaks of ecstasy (ex-istence) as the characteristic of a true person (in itself—for itself, going beyond itself). Christian existentialism (G. Marcel, Ch. Yannaras) also speaks of personhood as revealing itself in a self-emptying ecstasy towards the other. In atheistic existentialism, the goal of the venture of a person going beyond itself is the absurdity. In Christian existentialism, the ‘other’ which we encounter in our self-emptying ecstasy is the other human person and the three persons of the Trinity. The persons in the Trinity give us the example to follow in this *kenotic extasis*: through their energies they offer themselves, they offer their life to us, so that we share in it and have life abundantly. This offer of divine life to us by the persons of the Trinity makes it possible for us to respond with our own ecstatic self-offering to the Tri-hypostatic God. It is this offering and encounter with Him which allows us to grow as true human persons—in likeness and communion and fellowship with our personal Archetypes, the persons in the Trinity, and also in fellowship and communion with true human persons.⁷¹

Conclusion

The essence-persons-energies structure of the theology of the Greek Fathers, rooted in Scripture itself and developed

70. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

71. See Chrestos Yannaras, *The Theology of Absence and Unknowability of God* [in Greek] (Athens, 1977), pp. 81-88.

throughout the Christian tradition in the East with Palamite theology as its highlight, is an authentic Christian doctrine pertaining to the heart of Christian existence and life. It deals with the problem of our relationships with God and the quality of these relationships. To realize that God is a living, tri-personal God who really 'ex-ists,' that is, makes Himself present to the world through His energies, creates and redeems, and keeps the world alive in true life which comes from God the source of life; to realize that we can participate in this life and not in a kind of ersatz of this life, which is not the life of God; to realize that the only way we can become real human persons and grow as true human persons is to imitate our Uncreated Archetype of personhood, opening up ourselves to Him in a self-emptying ecstasy; to be in communion with authentic life as the three persons of the Trinity offer it to us in the Holy Spirit in personal encounter and intercourse with them; to feel God present in us and to surrender ourselves to this presence, not only in an ethical, imputative, imaginary way, but in a real, ontological, existential way; to feel God not only as the totally other, transcendent and distant, but also close to us, taking us up into His intimacy and life; all this is a matter of personal option, a choice between life and death. The traditional existential, personalistic theology of the Greek Fathers makes this choice and this option possible. There is no manner in which to give it up, to the eventual dismay of our *Istina* essayists.

To conclude these remarks, I would like to quote one of the main exponents of Orthodox theology today, who, commenting on the existential character of the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas and the importance of this existential, personalistic, realistic approach, reflects the mind of the entire Orthodox theological tradition, rooted in the theology of the Greek Fathers:

It has been recently suggested that the theology of St. Gregory would be described in modern terms as an 'existentialist theology.' Indeed, it differed radically from modern conceptions which are currently denoted by this label. Yet, in any case, St. Gregory was definitely opposed to all kinds of 'essentialist theologies' which fail to account for God's freedom, for the dynamism of God's will, for the reality of

Divine action. St. Gregory would trace this trend back to Origen. It was the predicament of the Greek impersonalist metaphysics. If there is any room for Christian metaphysics at all, it must be a metaphysics of persons. The starting point of St. Gregory's theology was *the history of salvation*: on the larger scale, the biblical story, which consisted of Divine acts, culminating in the Incarnation of the Word and His glorification through the Cross and Resurrection; on the smaller scale, the story of the Christian man, striving after perfection, and ascending step by step, till he encounters God in the vision of His glory. It was usual to describe the theology of St. Irenaeus as a 'theology of facts.' With no lesser justification we may describe also the theology of St. Gregory Palamas as a 'theology of facts.'

In our own time, we are coming more and more to the conviction that 'theology of facts' is the only sound Orthodox theology. It is biblical. It is Patristic. It is in complete conformity with the mind of the Church.

In this connection we may regard St. Gregory Palamas as our guide and teacher, in our endeavour to theologize from the heart of the Church.⁷²

72. G. Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), pp. 119-20.

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Holy Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments which he cites profusely, he frequently quotes classical authors such as Homer, many of the Greek Fathers, as well as from the literature of the Byzantine era.

The book is divided into six substantial chapters. Following a comprehensive account of Prodnomos' turbulent life, Dr. Hörandner devotes a chapter discussing his writings. A very illuminating chapter deals with the function and form of Prodnomos' historical poetry: a discussion of the type and style of his language, meter (usually hexameter and pentameter), and an account of the manuscript tradition conclude the first part of the volume. The larger part of the tome presents a critical edition of eighty poems accompanied by a comprehensive commentary.

The book ends with an extensive bibliography and four valuable indices, a map relevant to the geographic area, provinces, and cities mentioned in the poems, and a genealogical tree of the Comneni family which had patronized Prodnomos. Dr. Hörandner has made full use of primary sources and contemporary literature and has brought together so much material that this tome is a mine of valuable information. We are grateful to the author for a work extremely well done.

Demetrios J. Constantelos
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Emotional Problems and the Gospel. By Vernon Grounds. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976. Pp. 111. \$2.95.

Emotional Problems and the Gospel is the kind of religion book one could expect to easily find at the corner bookstore. The title is inviting, bringing the reader to anticipate not simply a book about human coping but moreso a book which relates the daily struggle with the resources of Scripture.

Vernon Grounds has set out here to show how the Gospel provides "person help and healing which cannot be found anywhere else." To accomplish this, he divides his subject into thirteen chapters, focusing upon anxiety, anger, pride, guilt, and concluding with "A Christian Perspective on Mental Health."

On the basis of such solid first impressions, one would look forward to experiencing important hours of reflection and growth through this reading. It is not too long, however, before the reader has to come to grips with his feelings of disappointment.

It seems that Dr. Grounds is more preoccupied with waging a battle against psychology than addressing squarely the psychological and/or

theological dimensions of his selected topics. By concentrating his efforts thusly, he not only ends up with a reductionistic analysis of the subject matter that collapses the breadth and depth of what is, in fact, various and often opposing schools of psychology, but by way of giving prominence to such digressions he actually blurs the purpose of his book.

The author quotes, “. . . The sum total of all authoritative articles ever written by the most qualified of psychologists and psychiatrists on the subject of mental hygiene, if you were to combine them and to refine them and cleave out the excess verbiage . . . you would have an awkward and incomplete summation of the Sermon on the Mount.” By taking apparent delight in commentary of this order throughout the book, Grounds precludes any serious dialogue between psychology and religion.

In addressing the subject of ‘anxiety,’ the author discusses six ways in which “anxiety-ridden” persons are counseled: drugs, alcohol, yoga, positive-thinking, therapy and the Bible. As he relates the positive and negative elements of each of these ‘counsels,’ one remains uncertain about which of these Professor Grounds finally endorses. For example, in regards to alcohol, he says, “The effects of alcohol, therefore, are akin to those of a liberating God-relationship. The individual, when intoxicated or spirit-infilled, rises above himself, shakes off his inhibition, and forgets his hangups. He undergoes a kind of psychic metamorphosis . . . Moreover, even if the effects of alcohol are liberating, they liberate only temporarily, plus the risk of mornings-after illness, plus self-disgust, plus the danger of enslaving the person who is supposedly being liberated.” In this fashion, Grounds sweeps the reader into the whirls of his many thoughts that are neither digested nor finally given direction.

When the author analyzes the nature of anxiety in Christ’s life he, again, neglects to take a stance, asking, “Shall we admit that Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane experienced fear?” This is no mere rhetorical question. Grounds has not clarified his position on the issue nor does he help the reader to understand why he raises the question. He simply goes on to quote New Testament scholar Oscar Cullman and author William Strawson (who emphasize Christ’s fear of death). In the end, Grounds surfaces in a sea of quotations to say, “The Strawson-Cullman interpretation may not do full justice to the Biblical data. I am not necessarily endorsing it. All I am saying is that here we have a courageous attempt to plumb through the depths of the Gethsemane experience.” What does such an assessment mean? Did Christ experience fear and anxiety? If so, how did He manage those feelings? Finally, what are the implications of Christ’s situation regarding anxiety for modern man? It would seem that such questions should be addressed in this undertaking. Unfortunately, one is left dangling after following Grounds’ circuitous, irresolute pattern of thought.

The section on anger draws upon many varied images of anger in Scripture. Some seminal insight is provided here as Dr. Grounds distinguishes

anger from hate, pointing out that if the former remains unchecked it may lead to the latter. This differentiation seems to approach a stalemate, however, when applied to instances designated as "unchecked anger" in the life of Christ. Strangely enough, Grounds pursues to conclude that Jesus actually hates—but that He "hates properly." "Hating properly" he defines as hating "a) relevantly; b) in proportion, fitting the thing or person hated; c) without blind rage; d) without guilt" (pp. 61, 63). Here, again, the incongruities are not resolved. Further, no attempt is made to draw upon the shared insights in religion and psychology regarding the role of motivations and the importance of working with feelings. In the end, the author digresses to a sermonic conclusion about keeping anger under control.

Probably the most palatable discussion in the book is found in the chapters on pride—a subject not directly addressed in psychology, enabling Grounds to relax his offense and to present his theological points. The author explains here that pride, as "exaggerated and dishonest self-evaluation," prohibits the possibility for one to understand the true self as well as to envision the possibilities of life. A refreshing presentation is provided about how personal identity is discovered through humility in Christ which frees one from the heavy bonds of self-importance.

Quite expectedly, with the psychologically attended theme of guilt, Grounds returns to his arsenal in an effort to show that psychology has worked to destroy guilt. Rather than sorting out and evaluating the reasons why guilt has been criticized in some circles of psychology, Grounds offers blanket support for guilt and goes so far as to teach, "Gospel and guilt are correlative terms." In a fanatical effort to substantiate that claim, he mistranslates and misinterprets Scripture. For example, he renders Romans 3.19: "Now we know what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God." Here he translates from the Greek *hypodikos* as 'guilty.' The word, accurately translated, means 'taken under judgment,' being quite distant from the point Grounds wants to make. By twisting Scripture in this way, he not only misconstrues the Bible's message but works against himself by dulling his primary theological tool.

One would hope that Grounds' molar vision of life would be offset by a strong theological position. Unfortunately, his declarative and spotty treatment drains the force of his theological perspective. It is not uncommon for him to conclude a section by saying, "I might continue in this vein for a much longer time; but charity compels me to abbreviate" (p. 102). In view of his approach such statements stand as signposts for a lack of content.

Clearly the book was not prepared for a scholarly audience.

It is not a lack of scrutiny and footnoted detail, however, which causes

one to be reserved in endorsing this book but, rather, it is that the objectives of the work are not met and that the orientation of the author may create confusion and problematic attitudes for the uncritical reader.

It is important to review such material, not only because of its wide circulation but because of the methodological problems that it illustrates for religion and psychology. The criticisms cited here do not relate simply to the difficulties in Dr. Grounds' book but also to the complexity in relating modern understandings of life with Scripture. Such endeavors require a working model that guides a constructive awareness, analysis and dialogue between religious and secular orientations. A constructive dialogue would permit mutual growth for both religious and psychological orientations through a mutual appreciation of similarities, differences and special contributions, finally acknowledging that God's presence and Truth are not limited to any corner of speculation—religious or otherwise.

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Hellenic College

Orthodox Iconography. By Constantine Cavarinos. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1977. Pp. xii, 76. Frontispiece and 24 plates. Cloth \$6.50. Paper \$3.95.

Dr. Cavarinos has labored hard and steadily to make traditional Orthodox iconography known through his publications, lectures, and teaching. In this volume he has gathered four essays dealing with the history of Orthodox iconography, the iconographic decoration of churches, the functions of icons, and the theology and aesthetics of Byzantine iconography. In addition, he has included three appendices with authoritative early texts of St. John Damascene and the Seventh Ecumenical Synod on icons, explanations of the techniques of iconography by the renowned Photios Kontoglou, and reviews of two Russian books on icons (Eugene N. Trubetskoi's *Icons: Theology in Color* and Leonidas Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky's *The Meaning of Icons*). The first two chapters on the history of iconography and church decoration were published originally in *The Orthodox Ethos* (edited by A. J. Philippou in 1964); the third chapter on the function of icons appears here for the first time; the fourth chapter was contained in a long article entitled "Theology and Aesthetics of Byzantine Iconography" in the January-June 1972 issue of the Athenian scholarly journal *Theologia*, whereas the texts of St. John Damascene and the Seventh Ecumenical Synod appeared originally in the pamphlet, *The Icon: Its Spiritual Basis and Purpose* (1955). The translations from

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ceiving. But in any case, how does a nation grow old? By the standards of China, Byzantium was a mere tad. This biological analogy with human development is no more apt employing the word "vigorous," since vigor and sloth are found in all the ages of man. What made a state "vigorous"? Beneath the casual parading of these adjectives lurks a series of difficult, urgent questions of comparative history spurned by Professor Head. As for the "marauding" Turks, why did so many Christians collaborate with them? Or are such concerns beyond the historian, passed off as "simply inherent in the nature of the times." This reader is reminded of cotton candy, colorful and promising in the vendor's hand, hollow and unsatisfactory upon closer study.

It is always wise to stick close to the sources. To take over their uncritical attitudes, as I fear Professor Head tends to do, does not serve even the much-maligned general reader. At a time boasting of a large audience for Braudel and Wallerstein in paperback, this book reflects an approach "already . . . grown old. . . ."

Rudi Paul Lindner
The University of Michigan

Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830): Continuity and Change. Edited by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, John P. Anton, John A. Petropulos, and Peter Topping in behalf of the Modern Greek Studies Association. Introduction by John A. Petropulos. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies—156, 1976. Pp. 237. \$15.00.

The book under review here deserves to be in the hands of every student of modern Greek studies. It contains ten papers (eight of which were originally delivered at the Harvard Symposium of the Modern Greek Studies Association on May 7-9, 1971 on the 150th anniversary of modern Greek independence) on a topic of vital interest to modern Hellenists—all of them written with exemplary clarity and splendidly organized. The book itself contains a Preface, Glossary, and Introduction that are followed by four main parts: "Before Liberation," "Problems of Liberation," "After Liberation," a "Bibliographical Essay," and a general index. Each paper provides new insights into a much studied phenomenon that John Petropulos prefers to call "an armed struggle of Greeks for liberation from Ottoman Turkish rule" and "A war of liberation rather than *the* war of liberation" (p. 19). The volume does not pretend to be comprehensive or all-inclusive but has as its basic objective the examination of the nature of the event and the evaluation of its significance.

In the first essay, "The Greeks under Turkish Rule" (45-58), Speros Vryonis, Jr. of the University of California at Los Angeles studies the era of the Turkokratia as an important period in the long history of the

Greeks and examines the general effect of Turkish rule on the Greeks. The period of Turkish domination he demonstrates was characterized by political disenfranchisement (statelessness), simplification of class structure, economic impoverishment, ethnic dilution (relative decline in the number of Greeks), religious retreat (conversion to Islam from Orthodox Christianity), legal disenfranchisement (disabilities in relation to the official state code), popularization or deformation of culture, and cultural isolation (from each other, from the ruling group, and from Europe). According to Vryonis, the Greek revolution significantly and irreversibly changed all eight of these conditions among the Greeks. In his very full and very interesting essay entitled "The Diaspora Greeks: The Genesis of Modern Greek National Consciousness" (59-77), Deno J. Geanakoplos of Yale University reminds us that there were important Greek communities in Venice, Padua, Naples, Ancona, Toledo, Lyons, Paris, Trieste, London, Livorno, Vienna, and Budapest and that for almost four centuries since the fall of Constantinople the Greek diaspora communities were, in fact, the Greek nation-in-exile, while Albert B. Lord of Harvard University in his example-laden paper on "The Heroic Tradition of Greek Epic and Ballad: Continuity and Change" (79-94) with a rich source of folk material that is permeated by "the spirit of those people we call heroes, who have nature and the divine on their side, against the strange and monstrous that threatens man's existence" (p. 94) intimately reveals to us the *klephts*, the *armatoloi*, and the *pallikars*. These three essays constitute the section called "Before Liberation."

In the second part, "Problems of Liberation," the first paper is called "The Greek Revolution: Ali Pasha's Last Gamble" (97-109) by Dennis N. Skiotis of Harvard University and is a fascinating account of how the Albanian Lion of Yannina, by gaining the support of his Greek subjects against Sultan Mahmud II who tried to humble him in order to assume direct rule over the Balkans, was instrumental in causing the Greek Revolution. William W. McGrew's essay, based on his University of Cincinnati M.A. thesis of 1971, discusses "The Land Issue in the Greek War of Independence" (111-29) and shows that the Greek peasant's lot improved somewhat (he could now work on state land or squat on vacant property as alternatives to working on a private estate) and that the Greek land-owning class emerged with full legal possession of its property. John A. Petropoulos of Amherst College in his insightful and incisive paper on "Forms of Collaboration with the Enemy during the First Greek War of Liberation" (131-43) enumerates five basic types of collaboration that can be found in insurgent provinces: (1) withdrawal of support from the Greek cause or active help to the Ottoman cause *when Greek fortunes were in the ascendant* (no cases of note on record); (2) mere withdrawal from the Greek camp when the military outcome in the region was in doubt (Bakolas, Koutalidas, Varnakiotes, and Nenekos); (4) mere acquiescence when

the Ottomans reestablished control and organized fighting ceased (practically all the chieftains of West Rumely in 1827); and (5) keeping lines of communication open with the enemy, even while participating actively in the Greek cause as insurance against the consequences of a possible Greek defeat. Petropoulos notes that collaboration in the early third of the nineteenth century did not have the twentieth-century stigma of World War II but was accepted as a fact of life to be exploited for national purposes.

Part three, "After Liberation," also contains three papers. The first by Harry J. Psomiades of Queens College of the City University of New York outlines some of the principal and distinctive characteristics of the political process in Greece under King Otho I (1833-1862) and calls attention to some of the unique features of Greek society without neglecting some of those features characteristic of the political life of recently freed states and the political order in changing societies in "The Character of the New Greek State" (147-55). In her study of "The Balkan Nations and the Greek War of Independence" (157-69) Barbara Jelavich of Indiana University focuses on what she sees as the introduction during the revolution of a highly centralized administrative apparatus and on the determining influence played by the Great Powers on the political life and interstate relations among the Balkan nations. She concludes that the results of the Greek Revolution were typical of the national movements of other Balkan states. The University of Birmingham's Anthony A. M. Bryer's "The Pontic Revival and the New Greece" (171-90) reveals the importance of these Black Sea Greeks who eventually had to look to Athens but who had been oriented to look to Tiflis, Odessa, and Constantinople and the commercial worlds of Tabriz and Manchester, but who significantly and persistently preserved their own Hellenism to the very end.

The "Bibliographical Essay" (193-230) by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros of Orange County Community College of SUNY, though it does not include items from the last few years, is, nevertheless, quite comprehensive and includes bibliographies, published primary sources, memoirs, general secondary sources, studies in Greek society in the War of Liberation, administrative, constitutional, and legal studies on the War of Liberation, ecclesiastical and religious studies, economic and fiscal studies, intellectual and cultural studies, military studies, newspapers and press studies, and studies on the Philhellenes.

Though five papers from the original symposium are not included, the present volume is an excellent example of the kind of fine scholarly work that the MGSA has sought to promote and has, in fact, succeeded in publishing in crucial areas of modern Greek studies. This book should be in the hands of every student of the subject, for whom it will be absolutely indispensable for a proper understanding of modern Greece.

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Agathangelos, History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary by R.W. Thomson. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976. Pp. xcvii, 527.

Thomson's monograph is devoted to a *chef d'oeuvre* of Armenian hagiography, Agathangelos' account of the life and times of Gregory the Illuminator, missionary to the Armenians in the early fourth century. The work is an important piece of ancient Armenian literature (it is dated, with some assurance, to the latter half of the fifth century); though hardly a uniformly reliable historical source, it provides valuable evidence about the evangelization of Armenia, and its influence has greatly contributed to the self-definition of a Christian Armenian identity. Of particular interest to readers of this journal may be the fact that this is one of the very few pieces of Armenian literature which were translated into Greek during the Byzantine period (the Greek text has now been made available in an excellent critical edition by G. Lafontaine [*La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange. Édition critique* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973)]).

After a foreword, in which he gives a literary and historical survey of the period, Thomson provides a detailed introduction wherein the contents of the Armenian text are analyzed, and the divergences of the other versions, in Greek and Arabic, are duly registered. Then the Armenian text (taken from the critical edition published in Tiflis in 1909) is reproduced, with a facing English translation. A long 'doctrinal' section (§ 259-715) is omitted because Thomson has in a separate book already published a detailed study and translation of it: *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970). Notes to the introduction and the translation, followed by a bibliography and indices, close the book.

The author, who is Professor of Armenian Studies at Harvard, has given us a piece of scholarship, unobtrusive yet of the first order. The translation from the Armenian is uniformly idiomatic and accurate. Thomson controls the relevant material in all the Christian oriental languages at first hand. (One should perhaps remark that he has edited, in several volumes, the Syriac version of the Athanasian corpus!) In the notes the Armenian text is compared in detail to the Greek versions, as well as several published Arabic versions. It should be noted that since the appearance of the book a new Syriac version, on which one of the Arabic versions depends, has been published: M. van Esbroeck, "Le résumé syriaque de l'Agathange," *Analecta Bollandiana* 95(1977), pp. 291-358. Though he did not establish the Armenian text anew, Thomson is cognizant of and presents the manuscript basis for the text (see p. 505). He had access to, and utilized extensively, important secondary literature in modern Armenian, in particular Ter Lewondyan's study of the Arabic text in *Sinaiticus* 455.

A few comments on matters of detail may be of some use: (p. lxiv) the legendary daughter of Noah is also given the name Astlik, by the chroniclers Vardan and Mxit'ar of Ayrivank'; (p. lxxxii) on Jews in Armenia see J. Neusner, *A History of Jews in Babylonia*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1968), pp. 339-353; (p. lxxxvi) the Eve-Mary typology is well attested in early patristic sources, in particular Irenaeus; (p. xcvi) on the appearance of the apostle Thaddaeus in the story, see now the Syriac version (ed. Van Esbroeck, pp. 293, 295); (pp. 13, 19) the religious metaphor of the pearl is well attested in Syriac and other oriental literatures (*par excellence* in the Hymn of the Pearl in the Acts of Thomas); the expression translated as "futile corpses" in § 142 (p. 151) could perhaps be rendered as "ghosts of the dead"; the metaphor of the tyrant dashing himself in vain against the rock (*loc. cit.*) is used to describe the caliph Yazid II by the chronicler Stephen of Tarōn (ed. Tiflis, p. 100); (p. 159) the metaphor of "Abraham's banquet" is perhaps derived from Matthew 8:11; in § 745 (p. 285) the description of the shining cross as "the *type* of Christ's image" is perhaps an allusion to the cosmic crucifixion scene depicted earlier (§ 80-81)—a passage which would eminently repay further investigation; (p. 449, note 201) on the Maccabees add Thomson's own article, "The Maccabees in Early Armenian Historiography," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 26(1975), pp. 329-34, esp. p. 334, and on the use of patristic sources in Agathangelos, again Thomson's "The Fathers in Early Armenian Literature," *Texte und Untersuchungen* 115(1975), pp. 468-69; (p. 463, note 1 to § 81) the passage in question is also quoted in the ninth-century iconophile florilegium of Nicetas (*Vat. gr.* 511, fol 67v, ed. G. Garitte, *Le Muséon* 59(1946), p. 414, note 4) and in an eleventh-century Arabic florilegium of Egyptian provenance (ed. Garitte, *op. cit.*, p. 415); (p. 493, note 1 to § 833) the image of the Jordan turning back is commonplace in apocryphal descriptions of the baptism of Jesus (A. Jacoby in fact argues that the Agathangelos account was patterned on this apocryphal motif: *Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu* (Strassburg, 1902), pp. 56-58; in the bibliography, "Enselin" (p. 510) should be "Ensslin."

In closing, it should be emphasized that Thomson has produced a truly first-rate work, which makes an interesting and important text accessible to the non-specialist, and which provides an excellent point of departure to specialists in Byzantine and Armenian studies for further work on the Agathangelos tradition. One can only hope that the author will continue to give us other annotated translations, of like broad scope and high quality, of ancient Armenian ecclesiastical and historical literature!

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ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΠΤΥΧΙΟΤΥΧΟΙ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩΝ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΩΝ, 1941, ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΤΝΑ. By Vasileios T. Gioultzes. Thessalonike: Kyriakides Bros., 1977. Pp. 189. Illustrations.

The appearance of works using the results of empirical sociology for the study of religion is a new phenomenon in Greek Orthodox theology. According to the author, "the sociological estimate of the particular social and professional problems of Greek theologians constitutes the most basic challenge for the preparation of the present study."

Among the Greek graduates of Orthodox theological schools, the author identifies the Greek Orthodox graduates of the universities of Athens, Thessalonike, and of Halke, who are serving in different institutions in Greece, those who are living outside of Greece and are serving as clergymen, and those in institutions of higher learning all over the world.

The author particularly focuses on the problem of theologians who are not working in the field of theology, the entrance of a great number of graduates of theology into the academic hierarchy of their country, the existence of essential information according to which clergymen participate in cultural, social, and athletic clubs, and recently in economic trusts and well-known political schemes as well.

In his questionnaire he asked the opinions of theologians on critical ecclesiastical matters in Greece, such as clerical dress, shortening of holy services, special offers to clergymen, state-Church relations, the civil marriage ceremony, clerical syndicalism, episcopacy, inter-Church relations, Church and anti-institutionalism, and monasticism. The assessment of the answers to these questions is, more or less, positive.

Vasil T. Istavridis

ΟΙ ΡΩΣΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΛΑΤΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ. By Konstantinos K. Papoulides. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977. Pp. 222. Illustrations.

In 1971 Papoulides published a study entitled *Ὀνοματολάτραι* (Worshippers of the Name), related to the latest theological dispute of Russian monks on Mount Athos, which has been, with few changes incorporated in the present volume as Part I, "Historical Review." In the second edition there is additional material related to the study under consideration, and drawn from the archives and from some rare publications. An enriched bibliography and a summary in English follow.

The author believes that his work will be of help to international bibliography on the above-mentioned subject.

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THEODORE G. STYLIANOPOULOS

HOLY EUCHARIST AND PRIESTHOOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Any aspects of the early Church must be studied at several levels: (1) terminology; (2) conceptuality; (3) developing forms and (4) the reality of the Church as a divine-human entity. These levels are closely inter-related. Yet particular terms and forms, whether by their occurrence or absence, can never fully express or strictly delimit the significance of the life of the Church in all its theological depth and historical complexity. This does not mean that the study of early Christianity must be surrendered to arbitrary judgment. But it does mean that at all times a total understanding of the early Church on the basis of all available evidence is necessary. Particular terminology should not be isolated from the very ground of its being—the organic life of the Church. Above all the Church is the miracle of the new life in Christ lived in community—the Body of Christ—which, like the Lord Jesus Himself, is not simply at the disposal of the critical historian and scientific theologian. The deepest significance of both Christ and Church is apprehended by faith.

Such considerations are essential to our topic because neither "Eucharist" (εὐχαριστία) nor Christian "priesthood" (ιερωσύνη) occur as terms in the New Testament.¹ They are developments in the life of the Church after the New Testament. Yet to suggest that therefore there is no Eucharist in the New Testament would be absurd because the Lord's Supper (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, 1 Cor. 11.20-34; cf. Acts 2.43, 46) is in fact constitutive of the life of the Church.² In similar fashion Church leaders are everywhere in evidence within the canon of the New Testament from the early chapters of Acts to the Pastoral Epistles.

A paper presented at the Fifth Meeting between Lutheran and Orthodox theologians on the theme "Eucharist and Priesthood," February 20-25, 1978, in Bonn, Germany under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical (Lutheran) Church of Germany.

1. But εὐχαριστίας in Mk. 14.23 and parallels, dependent on liturgical traditions, may well have technical nuance. Much less certain is the case of 1 Cor. 11.24 and also Mk. 8.6 and parallels.

2. Even if in the earliest years there were two forms of liturgical gatherings, a "liturgy of the Word" (1 Cor. 14) and the Lord's Supper according to some scholars. See F. Hahn, *The Worship of the Early Church*, trans. D.E. Green and ed. J. Reumann (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 72.

Although none of them is called a "priest," no doubt because of the association of this term with the Jewish cult,³ it is reasonable to hold that some of them functioned as leaders in worship assemblies even if in earliest times liturgical leaders clearly did not make up a special order. Accordingly, the absence of explicit terminology about "Eucharist" and a Christian "priestly" order within the New Testament challenges us to inquire more deeply into the *nature* of the early Church, its worship, baptism, Lord's Supper, gospel and sacred ministries in order to ascertain the continuity and/or discontinuity in the life of the Church during and immediately after the New Testament on the issues before us. Is the meaning of the Eucharist in Paul essentially different from that in Ignatios? Are the character and functions of Church leaders by the end of the first century (as in the Didache, I Clement, and a little later Ignatios) incomprehensible in the light of the developing forms of Church order within the canon of the New Testament? What is the true meaning of Christian priesthood? What is the nature of the differentiation between "clergy" (κληρικός) and "laity" (λαός)?

It is not out of place here also to say that, in the context of our dialogue, these issues hold more than historical interest for us. We study them with vital concern about their meaning today which we perceive through the eyes of faith within the communities in which we live, pray, and worship. Our respective traditions are marked by many differences. Nevertheless we may as Orthodox and Lutherans be able to understand each other more clearly today because of the ecumenical spirit and advances in theological scholarship.

What is the fundamental nature of the early Church as it emerges from Judaism out of the events of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and the eschatological gift of the Spirit? The early Church is integrally linked with the saving

3. Acts 6.7 relates that many "priests" (ιερείς) converted to the Christian faith without the slightest problematic as to their new status within the Christian community. Are we to assume that their priestly status continued within the Church? (Priesthood in Judaism was inherited.) No, we are not to assume such a thing, but just the opposite. Luke presupposes a rejection of the Temple and its cult. Such priests who converted to the Christian faith had no special role to play in the Church, although some of them may in fact have continued their services as priests in the Temple during the earliest period.

events of the New Covenant which it lives and proclaims.⁴ It emerges as an eschatological community within but also distinct from Judaism, having its own unique integrity centered on Jesus Christ and empowered by the Holy Spirit. The early Church is not a continuation of the Temple cult and its priesthood; it is not another synagogue imitating rabbinical models; it is not a combination of cult, Torah, and eschatological consciousness as in the case of the community of Qumran; it is not a philosophical school, nor is it a pagan cult or secret religious society. Its character is, in other words, neither Jewish cultic, nor legalistic (i.e., Law-centered and concerned with defining regulations for all spheres of life), nor ascetic-monastic, nor philosophical-pedagogical, nor mystical-mystagogic in the ordinary sense of the latter terms in the study of ancient pagan cults. Although it may give evidence of any such aspects or nuances either by some inner urgency or by way of inevitable dialogue with the above models in the Jewish and Greek worlds, the essence of the Church's self-understanding is anchored on Jesus Christ and the eschatological gift of the Spirit.

In positive terms one may say that the Church is prophetic, charismatic, and eschatological with a sharp consciousness of renewal within Judaism, a renewal which in time leads to complete separation from Judaism. Yet such terms as prophetic, charismatic, and eschatological are of themselves still inadequate to express the nature of the Church without recognition also of this crucial dimension: the early Church is above all a worshipping community.⁵ No other single factor probably determined the nature and structure of the Church as its worship. It is here that we may seek the "priestly" character of the Church both in terms of decisive developments in litur-

4. The Church is born simultaneously with the occurrence of the saving events. Without the saving events there would be no Church, yet without the Church, i.e., the believing response of the Twelve and those around them and others, there would be experience of no saving events but historical occurrences. There is an important ecclesiological principle here in that the Church is part of the saving Gospel by its integral connection with the saving events.

5. The bibliography is extensive. See among others O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, trans. A.S. Todd (Chicago, 1962²), C.F.D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament* (Richmond, 1961), E. Lohmeyer, *Lord of the Temple*, trans. S. Todd (Edinburgh, 1961), G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, trans. P. Scott (Philadelphia, 1962), R. Martin, *Worship in the Early Church* (London, 1964), G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1949⁴), and J.A. Lamb, "The Place of the Bible in Liturgy," *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 563-86.

gical forms and Church order, as well as in terms of the theological foundation of the saving experience of Christian believers. The fundamental Christian experience of salvation is rooted in the concreteness of worship at the heart of which is the saving event: the death and resurrection of Christ. What the gospel proclaims—forgiveness of sin and new life by the power of the Spirit—is lived in prayer, eschatological joy, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper where the community worships Jesus as Lord and is united with Him. The new life in Christ is experienced as redemption and liberation from the powers of the old age: sin, corruption, and death. (Salvation is not merely a moral, pedagogical, or psychological experience.) Especially in the celebration of the Lord's Supper believers are united with the Lord and with one another, as His Body; they are freed from the realm of darkness under the sway of Satan and are translated into the new realm of the Spirit. As F. Hahn has put it, "in worship the *oikodomē* of the church takes place . . . [and] the new creation takes concrete, bodily form for the salvation of the world."⁶

But does the nature of the Church as a worshipping community necessarily validate an extensive development of rites, or the growth of a priestly order, or cultic thinking within the life of the Church? In his brief but careful study which has been cited above, F. Hahn voices time and again exactly such concerns. Hahn, if I understand him correctly, intends to set down in this study the following major points which are relevant to our discussion: (1) early Christian worship is based on God's eschatological act in Christ which demonstrates its present power for the believing community by the power of the Spirit; (2) Christian worship is sharply different from Jewish and pagan worship in that it is no longer cultic—in fact it radically rejects cult (fixed liturgical forms, ritual regulations, priestly orders, sacrificial system, and distinction between sacred and profane), and (3) the gravest danger to the integrity of early Christian worship is a gradual but inexorable movement toward legalism, ritualism, and institutionalization. Hahn of course is well aware of the fact that *tradition* is a powerful factor in the life of the Church from the earliest period, including that of Paul. Hahn also points out that the process of

6. Hahn, p. 105. In the context Hahn stresses the missionary aspect of worship.

“institutionalization” is already at work not only in the Pastorals, Hebrews and James, but also in Colossians and Ephesians both of which are, according to him, deutero-Pauline and dependent on more developed liturgical traditions.⁷ However, notes Hahn, the fundamental eschatological character of early Christian worship is not yet given up during this sub-apostolic period (ca. A.D. 60-90). The Rubicon seems to be crossed, according to him, during the following period as evidenced in the Didache, I Clement, Ignatios, and Justin where Hahn finds a sacrificial interpretation of the Eucharist, a cultic Church order, a monarchical episcopate, massive sacramentalism, and binding liturgical forms.⁸

Hahn's survey of early Christian worship raises many basic issues. The main lines of a reply to him may be sketched as follows. First we fully agree that the early Church rejected the Jewish Temple and the Law, which in the Church are replaced by Christ. However, the centrality of Christ in Christian worship and theology is a matter of a new focus, a new center for life and thought, and not a matter of radical programmatic rejection of all things Jewish.⁹ There is to be sure discontinuity between the New Covenant and the Old but there is also continuity. A radical discontinuity between the two dispensations would lead to dangerous theological ground. Secondly, the Church's rejection of the Temple cult in no way necessarily implies a surrender of the Church's own need and right to develop and regulate liturgical forms! The Church is an eschatological and historical community which is alive, growing, developing and therefore in positive need of striving for unity, stabilization, and doctrinal integrity. It was historically inevitable that the Church should set down patterns in worship, organization, doctrine and other essential aspects of its life. Within the canon of the New Testament there is already evidence of a rich tradition of developing liturgical forms and rites such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, fasting, the holy kiss, formal blessings and greetings, the pronouncement of anathema, Christological

7. Pp. 81-93.

8. Pp. 99-103.

9. For example, Scripture (OT), the use of Scripture in worship, prayers, psalms and ethical traditions. An interesting case is that of Paul who proclaims that the Law has come to an end through Christ yet continues to uphold Jewish ethical injunctions, e.g., 1 Cor. 7.19; c.f. Rom. 2.21-25.

hymns, creedal confessions, the observance of Sunday, the anointing with oil and special prayers for the healing of the sick by the presbyters, ordination, and others, many of which are noted also by Hahn.

Christian rejection of the Temple cult thus in no way necessarily implies rejection of all cult in principle unless of course any sign of well-developed liturgical forms are arbitrarily labeled "cult" in order then to be easily disposed of. In the early Church we have *new worship* based on the New Covenant. the newness of Christian worship does not lie in its forms, i.e., a "new cult,"¹⁰ whether highly developed or not, but in the content which is the eschatological saving event of Christ made present by the power of the Spirit! Perhaps the crux of the problem is the exact meaning of terms such as "cultic," "sacral," "ritualism" or "ritualization," and their difference, if any, from the meaning of terms such as "holy," "sacred," and "sanctified." In the early Church we find that Spirit is not necessarily opposed to form; indeed Spirit can create forms. However, a kind of magical "holiness" cannot be attached to forms apart from the personal and sovereign action of the Spirit. Nor is the efficacy of Christian worship dependent on a liturgical "system" or a "fixed pattern of mechanical incantation" for indeed such a thing would signal lapse into magic ritualism. The efficacy of Christian worship derives from the gracious presence of the risen Lord in the power of the Spirit experienced by the worshipping community. What guarantees the presence of the Lord is not the pattern of liturgical forms, rigidly fixed or not, e.g., a correct pronouncement or repetition of a certain formula *per se*,¹¹ but the promise of the Lord to be with the believing community, His Church. The Lord is bound by nothing other than His promise based on His love for the Church. Moreover, the presence of the Lord and the sanctifying action of the Holy Spirit are at work in the total life of the believer. True worship "in spirit and in truth" (Jn. 4.24) continues in witness and service to the world. We agree with Hahn that the distinction between sacred and profane is not, strictly speaking, theo-

10. Hahn, p. 106, takes note of E. Lohmeyer's expression "new cult" for Christian worship but regards it as an expedient which does not adequately express the fundamental difference between Christian worship and Jewish and pagan cults.

11. Similar concerns within Greek Orthodox theology in recent centuries may well betray Roman Catholic influence.

logically valid. However, the corollary to the rejection of this dualistic notion is not that therefore life is simply historical, sociological, or secular. On the contrary, all life is holy—totally claimed by the lordship of Christ. Every aspect of the Christian's life is sanctified by the Holy Spirit (λογικὴ λατρεία, Rom. 12.1).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in dialogue with Hahn, there is the matter of the sacrificial meaning of the Eucharist which is closely linked with the "priestly" character of the Church and the special "priestly" order within the Church. Hahn holds to the view that the Eucharist in the early Church was an eschatological, not sacrificial, meal and he has little to say about the sacramental character of the Lord's Supper even in Paul.¹² This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the relevant texts. We hold to the view that Jesus anticipated His death and interpreted it as a redemptive sacrifice: *λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* (Mk. 10.45). The intent of Jesus was the same in the solemn act of the breaking of the bread during the Last Supper by which He pointed to His sacrificial death. The canonical texts of the Last Supper in their present form (Mk. 14.22-25; Mt. 26:26-29, and Lk. 22.15-20), no doubt reflecting eucharistic traditions of the Church at a time later than Paul (1 Cor. 11.23-26), certainly are anchored on the death of Jesus as a redemptive sacrifice. This is in accord with the whole tradition of early Christianity that Jesus offered His life *ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν*. His death and the efficacy of the Cross were from the beginning interpreted, quite apart from the Epistle to the Hebrews, in sacrificial and cultic terms: *ἱλαστήριον* (Rm. 3.25), *ἀπολύτρωσις* (Rm. 3.24; 1 Cor. 1.30), *αἷμα τοῦ σταυροῦ* (Col. 1.20), *ἄφεσις* (Col. 1.14), *καθαρίσιν* (1 Jn. 1.7) and the like. As Paul succinctly states: *τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός* (1 Cor. 5.7). It is inconceivable that, as far as the early Church is concerned, the Last Supper and the Eucharist are not both closely connected to the self-offering of Jesus on the Cross. And if they are, the essential meaning of the Eucharist

12. Hahn, pp. 46-47, but he does not enter into these subjects. For the discussion of the Lord's Supper in the early Church see J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (New York, 1966²), H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926), R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, Vols. 1-2, trans. K. Grobel (London, 1952), E.J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the Primitive Church* (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), G. Dix and others.

goes beyond that of an eschatological meal (exultation, prayer, and expectation of the consummation) only *based* on Jesus' sacrifice as an event *in the past*. Rather the Eucharist is a sacramental meal which makes the same $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$ sacrifice of Christ a *present reality* for the believing community in the context of eschatological rejoicing.

The death and resurrection of Christ, the saving events proclaimed by the gospel, are at the heart of the Eucharist. The Eucharist *is* the gospel in salvific action (not just "liturgical drama"): it makes the saving events a present reality for the worshiping Church by the power of the Spirit. Here is the ground of forgiveness and new life for the upbuilding of the Church. At the center is the death of Jesus, the self-offering of *the* Priest of the Church on behalf of all. Jesus is called by many titles such as the eschatological Son of Man, the awaited Prophet, the Anointed One and others. On the Cross He is Highpriest, although an entirely new Highpriest who offers Himself, according to the profound insight of Hebrews. The deep roots of Christian priesthood in its uniqueness must be sought at the core of the saving events and the early Christian experience of them. Although neither in the case of Jesus nor in the case of the Church do we have a true cultic orientation as decisive for life and thought according to the model of the Jewish Temple, its priesthood and cult, we do nevertheless have an experience of redemption through the sacrifice of Christ, the eternal Highpriest, a sacrifice which is made present for believers through the Eucharist and baptism.

Paul is perhaps the most significant witness concerning the concreteness of the redemptive experience through baptism and the Eucharist, both of which he relates with the mystery of the death and resurrection of Christ (Rom. 6.2ff.; 1 Cor. 10.16ff.; 11.24ff.; 12.12; Gal. 3.27). Paul's interpretation of these rites in the above texts is *sacramental*. It is in Paul, and within the deeply eschatological orientation of his thought, that we especially find this truth, in the words of C.D.F. Moule: "salvation is not merely by seeing, listening, and learning but by assimilating Christ."¹³ The sacramental character of baptism

13. Moule, p. 37.

and the Eucharist for Paul can no longer be questioned.¹⁴ What may be debated is, first, the exact meaning of the term "sacramental" and, secondly, the relationship between the proclaimed word and the sacraments.

E. Käsemann¹⁵ affirms the sacramental meaning of baptism and the Eucharist for Paul as well as the Corinthians but he sets down the qualification that Paul tries to correct a cruder hellenistic view of sacrament held by the Corinthians. Käsemann accepts the parallels of "bread/body" and "cup/blood" and their identity with Christ as stated in 1 Cor. 11.27. However, he emphasizes that the bread becomes the Body and the cup becomes the Blood of the Kyrios by *His* power. The Lord's Supper as a sacrament is, according to Käsemann, the *self-manifestation* of the Kyrios and not a communication of impersonal powers (as Käsemann finds in Ignatios' concept of *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*).¹⁶ For Käsemann the difference is this: "The Pauline doctrine of the sacraments is not determined by the view that impersonal, divine power is conveyed to man in the sacrament, but by the view that it is the locus of a self-manifestation of the Christ."¹⁷

If Käsemann holds to the *real presence* of Christ in the Lord's Supper we find no serious difficulty in agreeing with him about the "communication of impersonal powers." His whole cited statement can be accepted as true with the deletion of "impersonal" and "but" so that it may be cast in entirely positive terms: "The Pauline doctrine of the sacraments is determined by the view that divine power is conveyed to man in the sacrament by the self-manifestation of the Christ." The Eucharist *is* Christ, crucified and risen, in His *personal presence*. "The communication of impersonal powers" may be rejected as something belonging to the field of magic. The power of the Eucharist is the power of Christ Himself Who is the true Priest of the Church (ὁ προσφέρων καὶ ὁ προσφερόμενος according to the Greek Orthodox Liturgy).

In the Greek Orthodox Church the sacraments are still traditionally called *μυστήρια*, perhaps a more useful term in the interpretation of the Eucharist. "Sacrament" too often conveys

14. See E. Käsemann, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper" in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, trans. W.J. Montague (London, 1964), pp. 108-35; R. Bultmann, *NT Theology*, Vol. 1, pp. 133-52, 311-14, and Kilmartin, 86ff.

15. Pp. 109, 120, 124, 133-35.

16. Pp. 116, 122-23.

17. P. 124.

a certain accent on the external forms and the efficacy of the rite by the pronouncement of a strict formula independent of the context of the believing community. Such an accent leads in the direction of superstition and magic. What we rather have in the *μυστήριον* of the Eucharist is the personal presence of Christ, which is real and miraculous—beyond the control and manipulation of man—but active according to the free grace of Christ in the context of faith. The Kyrios makes Himself truly present in the Eucharist through His Body and Blood so that He may be totally¹⁸ shared by the believing community. The essential basis of the efficacy of the Eucharist does not lie in the external fixity of the rite or a strict formula, as we have said. A *fixed form* or a *law* cannot guarantee the presence of the Lord but rather the personal action of the Lord and the faith of the Church do so. The efficacy of the Eucharist lies in the power of the Spirit and the promise of the living Christ to abide in His Body, the Church. This union of Church and Christ in the Eucharist can properly be called *mystical* in a true Christian sense because it transcends human formal criteria. It is personal, yet objective; real, yet apprehended by faith. It is the mystery of the living Christ, crucified and risen, taking concrete form in the Eucharist for the ongoing redemption of those who believe. (However, those who do not discern the Body of Christ in the Eucharist receive judgment since their lack of true faith invalidates neither the reality of the Eucharist nor the faith of the Church.) This Christological and sacramental interpretation of the Eucharist represents not only the view of later Church leaders such as Ignatios but also already the view of Paul.

The issue of the relationship of proclaimed word to sacrament also deserves brief attention. This matter is relevant to our discussion because a theological position with an accent on *kerygma* would neither support nor explain the clear developments in the worship and priestly order of the ancient Church. The New Testament authors, for example Paul, do not of course oppose *kerygma* and Lord's Supper or baptism.¹⁹ Proclaimed word and sacrament are closely related in the early Church. *Kerygma* and teaching enjoy preeminence in the pages

18. This is the meaning of "Body" and "Blood": Christ's total life.

19. 1 Cor. 1.16-17 indicates that Paul did not usually baptize but not his theological view of baptism. For this see Rom. 6.1ff.

of the New Testament because of the rapid expansion of mission and the need to proclaim, explain, and defend the gospel in all directions (Jews, pagans, and Christians). The worship of the Church, largely an internal non-controversial matter, is much less directly transparent in early Christian documents prior to Justin, although New Testament scholars have frequently discerned liturgical backgrounds behind many traditions and whole books of the New Testament, e.g., Matthew, Mark, John, 1 Peter, Revelation, and others. However, that the early Christian community was a worshiping Church is not debatable. The valuable witness of Paul (1 Cor. 11 and 14; Rom. 6) is evidence of the centrality of worship and theological importance of sacrament for the early Church.

Yet the position is taken with varying degrees of emphasis by some theologians that what is truly constitutive of the Church and of Christian existence is the proclaimed word. E. Schweizer finds a greater emphasis on the preached word than on the Lord's Supper in the earliest Church. For him the Church becomes the Body of Christ when assembled and through the proclaimed word.²⁰ H. von Campenhausen judges that in early Christianity "all is a matter of the word" and that the primal truth of the divine tradition is the gospel: Christ preached and interpreted.²¹ We can here only respond to a more moderate position of R. Bultmann who, although in agreement with the above scholars that the Church is summoned by the word, nevertheless tries to defend the function of the proclaimed word as equal to that of sacrament in Paul.²² Bultmann accepts the sacramental character of the Eucharist and baptism for Paul. These are rites which, according to Bultmann, miraculously render the salvation-event of the Cross a present reality for the community. The question is whether or not the proclaimed word also has the same power. The answer is yes: the salvation-occurrence is made present for believers through the proclaimed word "just as" through baptism and the Eucharist.²³ The most

20. E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, trans. F. Clarke (London, 1961), pp. 222-23.

21. *Tradition and Life in the Church*, trans. A.V. Littledale (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 12-15.

22. *Op. cit.* Bultmann, of course, is against sacramentalism.

23. Pp. 312-13.

insightful critique of this position ("just as") is by K. Stendahl who asks: Does the believer, insofar as Paul is concerned, truly "die with Christ" when hearing the proclaimed word *just as* when he is baptized (Rom. 6)? Is the believer truly taken to Golgotha or, to put it in another way, is Golgotha made an efficacious present reality for him, when he hears the preached word *just as* when he shares in the Lord's Supper?²⁴ The answer is an unhesitating negative. The sacraments are baptism and the Eucharist, not, strictly speaking, the word. The insistence that the word has equal, let alone higher than, powers to baptism and the Eucharist would imply an effort at an unjustified "sacramentalization" of the proclaimed word. But in the view of Paul, the Christ-identity of the believer and of the Church is decisively established through baptism and the Eucharist, not the preached word.

A final related point regarding the priestly nature of the Church has to do with the eschatological gift of the Spirit. The believers all become through baptism bearers of the Spirit. They are "sanctified and washed" according to the baptismal language of Paul (1 Cor. 6.11; cf. 2.30). They can no longer live the old common life as pagans (1 Cor. 6.11; 1 Pet. 1.14ff.; 4.2ff.). They have been "anointed" (1 Jn. 2.27) and "sealed" (2 Cor. 1.22) with the Holy Spirit. The language of holiness (*ἁγιος, ἡγιασμένος, ἁγιασμός, ἁγιότης et al.*) used to describe Christians and Christian life is extensive in the New Testament and needs no documentation. We have here important implications with regard to Christian priesthood expressed in cultic language. What is the ground of this holiness? The sacrifice of Christ. All Christians are cleansed by the death of Christ and are sanctified by the gift of the Spirit. The concrete locus of this cleansing and sanctification is sacramental: through baptism and the Eucharist. Christians are Spirit-bearers and Christ-bearers. They are all holy and consecrated to God. What is involved here is the important teaching of the *priesthood of all believers* fundamentally anchored on the death of Christ,

24. Verbally in one of his seminars. See his article "The New Testament Background for the Doctrine of the Sacraments" in *Oecumenica 1970: Evangelium and Sacrament*, ed. G. Gassman and V. Vajta (Strasbourg, 1970). Stendahl has reacted against this "kerygma speculation" and "word-mysticism" but, it seems to me, has gone too far in arguing (p. 45) that the announcement of the gospel is qualitatively no different than telling anything else. The gospel is rightly proclaimed by the power of the Spirit. Otherwise we have human words empty of conversion power.

the sacrificial self-offering of the unique Highpriest (Heb. 2.11; 9.13-14; 10.10, 29; Rev. 1.5-6; 5.10; cf. 1 Pet. 2.4-10; Eph. 5.25-26),²⁵ and actualized through baptism and the Eucharist.

The nature of the Church is thus intrinsically holy, sacred and priestly rather than just historical, sociological or secular. This point must be emphasized, on the one hand, against those who would do away with the holiness of the Church in favor of secularization (they may call it "de-sacralization") and, on the other hand, against those who would radically differentiate between a clergy and a laity. Against both extremes it must be stated that all Christians who are baptized and sharers of the Lord's Supper, are a holy nation and a royal priesthood by Christ's sacrifice and the seal of the Spirit. The priestly character of the Church is uniquely its own, it is Christian, because it is centered always on Christ, the eternal Highpriest, and actualized by the power of the Holy Spirit through the worship and sacraments of the Church.

But what of the special priestly order within the Church? What are the nature and presuppositions of a priestly Church order from the standpoint of the New Testament? If the Church is a liturgical and sacramental community centered on the Eucharist, there is in principle no difficulty in recognizing the priestly character of the celebrants of the Eucharist especially against the background of the priesthood of all believers. Yet, neither the word "priest" (for a Christian believer), nor a special order of liturgical leaders, is to be found in the New Testament. The formation of a priestly Church order is fundamentally a matter of historical development in the life of the Church. However, the theological presuppositions for this development

25. See P. Bratsiotēs, *Περὶ τὸ "Βασιλεῖον Ἰερᾶν"* (Thessalonike, 1955), I. Kotsionēs, "Ἰερᾶν, βασιλεῖον" in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 6 (Athens, 1965), 770-72, and P. Trempelas, *Οἱ Λαϊκοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ - τὸ βασιλεῖον Ἰερᾶν* (Athens, 1957). Bratsiotēs and Kotsionēs point to Chrysostom's teaching about the identity of all believers as the Body of Christ and Chrysostom's statement that in the Liturgy the priest prays for the people and the people for the priest. On this basis the people also "offer" the Eucharist. See also Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, trans. D. Attwater (New York, 1965) and Brown, *Reflections*, pp. 14-15. The latter Roman Catholic theologians take the position that the general priesthood indicated in 1 Pet. 2.5, 9 concerns primarily not priestly function (sacrifice) but priestly holiness, i.e., universal priesthood is not connected with the Eucharist or public worship but only with a holy way of life. Brown supports his argument partly by reference to J.H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum XII; Leiden, 1966) who rejects Luther's interpretation of 1 Pet. 2.9 in favor of the idea of general holiness of a covenant people as in Ex. 19.6, which does not negate the necessity of a special priesthood.

reside in the nature of the Church.

The development of a special sacramental priesthood is closely related to the wider issue of the development of Church order for, by the end of the first century and early second, the celebrants of the sacraments are identical with the leaders of the Church.²⁶ Church order implies growth toward stable historical forms and the exercise of authority which are both necessary and inevitable within the life of the Church. In the earliest period, a time of heightened eschatological consciousness, there was no fixed organization or offices although outstanding figures (the Apostles) are, as von Campenhausen affirms,²⁷ integral to the birth and care of the Church from the beginning.

A single example, that of the Church of Corinth, well indicates the rapid growth of official order in the early Church even a generation after Paul.²⁸ During the life of Paul the Corinthian Church was swayed by the power of the Spirit like few other congregations. The diverse ministries such as preaching, teaching, healing, administrations, and others are gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12.4-11, 28-30). Even worship was in no way organized but anyone could offer a hymn, teaching, revelation, or speaking in tongues as he was moved by the Spirit (1 Cor. 14.26ff.). No single local leader was in charge to whom Paul could appeal for proper order. Rather, the whole community was responsible for itself. The supreme, permanent and ubiquitous authority, as the extensive correspondence easily shows, was that of Paul himself.²⁹ Yet, during the next generation fixed and permanent

26. The literature on the Church order of the ancient Church is voluminous. Among others, see H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, trans. J.A. Baker (London, 1969), E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, H. Küng, *The Church*, trans. Ray and Rosaleen Ockenden (New York, 1967) and the critique by M.M. Bourke, "Reflections on Church Order in the New Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968), 493-511. On the Greek Orthodox side see especially G. Konidares, *Νέαι ἔρευναι πρὸς λύσιν τῶν προβλημάτων τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ πολιτεύματος τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ* in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀθηνῶν* 1954-55 καὶ 1957-58 (Athens, 1956, 1959), idem, *Περὶ τῆς φερομένης διαφορᾶς μορφῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ* (Athens, 19592), and I. Zizioulas, *Ἡ Ἐνότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ Θεῷ Εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους αἰῶνας* (Athens, 1965) on the close link between Eucharist and bishop in the ancient Church.

27. *Ecclesiastical Authority*, pp. 13ff.

28. However, the institution of "elders" was already in existence in Jerusalem in the lifetime of Paul according to the witness of Acts (James and the presbyters).

29. *Ecclesiastical Authority*, pp. 22-23, 30ff.

positions of leadership are established, according to the witness of I Clement. This document, written toward the end of the first century by the bishop of Rome, assumes that a system of priestly offices and office-holders is a long-standing tradition in Corinth which Clement vigorously defends as canonical.

The basic story is the same in all early catholic Christianity³⁰ although the details are diverse. The practical needs of the Church, the controversies and conflicts, as well as the necessity to preserve unity and right doctrine, require the growth of Church order organically out of the life of the Church from the earliest period.³¹ Even within the Pauline Churches the ministries which are gifts of the Spirit soon acquire a permanency in the Church and particular ministries are singled out (*ἐπίσκοποι, διάκονοι*, Phil. 1.1) which signal the new emerging situation.³² Elsewhere in the New Testament, for example, in Acts (especially 20.17, 28ff.) James (5.14), Revelation (4.4 *et al.*) and even 1 Peter (5.1ff.) the office of presbyter is in evidence. In the instance of the Pastorals, without here entering into details, we have the clearest evidence of an ecclesiastical order within the New Testament canon which is very similar to, if not identical with, that of Ignatius. The growth of Church order was historically necessary and theologically legitimate. The whole consolidation and unity of the ancient Church required the establishment of a New Testament canon, a rule of faith and even prior to both, a canonical Church order based on the bishop as the supreme visible authority in the Church according to the apostolic prototype.

The above developments demonstrate that the explicitly priestly character of Church leaders at the end of the first century was not exclusively cultic. These leaders subsumed under their authority several earlier ministries such as preaching, teaching, and presiding over the celebration of the sacraments. The process of incorporation of earlier ministries was not under particular control but a matter of historical development as

30. The ones who apparently resisted the formation of offices within the Church were the gnostics. See recently on this E.H. Pagels, "The Demiurge and His Archons"—A Gnostic View of the Bishop and Presbyters?," *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976), 301-24.

31. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*, p. 13.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

some of these ministries (e.g., prophecy) diminished and established offices became dominant. Nor was the rich diversity of ministries, such as teaching, care of the poor and other functions, entirely eclipsed, although all invariably came under the supervision of the bishop. The priestly character of these Church leaders found explicit expression undoubtedly because of their link with the sacraments. Their leadership in worship, and especially their presiding over the celebration of the Eucharist, defined the sacramental character of Church order. We do not know by what process or when the leaders of the Church were firmly linked with the Eucharist.³³ The prominence of the established offices and the centrality of worship were probably the two factors leading to their integral association.

The decisive presupposition behind the development of a priestly Church order is an ecclesiological one. The powers to baptize (Mt. 28.19), to forgive sins (Jn. 20.23), to celebrate the Lord's Supper (Mk. 14.22ff. and parallels; 1 Cor. 11.24ff.) and others reside in the Church.³⁴ Leaders and community belong together. The early Church is not a democratic society. Nor are the leaders self-subsistent. The Church offices are rooted in the life of the Church from which they receive both their sacramental character and their theological legitimacy. The leaders exercise authority, not lordship, over the Church as servants of Christ. The primacy belongs to the life of the Church in which these leaders are set apart by ordination to carry on the various aspects of their ministry. They are not radically to be separated from a "laity" because all belong to the same mystical Body of Christ and share in the general priesthood of the Church. Nor are they to be interpreted, strictly speaking, as "mediators," since all Christians enjoy direct access to Christ, but as ordained liturgical leaders. The functions of their office extend beyond worship, although this is central, because they are shepherds, guardians and overseers of the total life of the Church. As far as the danger of "institutionalization" is concerned, this arises not so much from the development of a stable Church order which is a historical necessity but from the character of Christian life of the leaders themselves—to what degree they center their

33. R.E. Brown, *Priest and Bishop: Biblical Reflections* (New York, 1970), pp. 40-41. See also Zizioulas who emphasizes the theological necessity of the unity of the Church in Eucharist and Bishop.

34. Brown, pp. 21ff., 54-55.

person, office and work on Christ and the Spirit.³⁵

In summary three conclusions may be drawn. First, Eucharist and priesthood in the early Church were closely united for deeply theological reasons. Christian priesthood is rooted in the Eucharist as a sacramental and sacrificial act making present the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ by the power of the Spirit. The liturgical leader was not particularly associated with a Christ-typology which is applicable to all Christians. Rather Christian priesthood takes its meaning and character from the Eucharist and the sacramental nature of the worship of the Church. The priestly character of the liturgical leader derives from the Eucharist as sacrifice and not from some other independent ground. It is the offering of the Eucharist that makes the priest (and not of course the priest who makes the Eucharist). Secondly, Eucharist and priesthood were also closely united in the early Church for historical reasons. The liturgical leader became prominent because of the primacy of worship in the Church. The priestly leader tended to assume other important ministries under him, such as those of shepherd, preacher, and administrator, and inclined to become the monarchic leader of the local Church. This development was both understandable and useful but also had its dangers. One danger is the one-sided identity of the episcopal leader with the worship of the Church with the consequence that the other functions, such as shepherding and evangelizing, tended to lose their operative value in the whole task of the upbuilding of the Church through the continual practice of all the diverse ministries. Finally, ordination distinguished the leaders of the early Church as a permanent ministry. Although all the new people of God constitute a holy nation and a royal priesthood, a special priesthood is appointed as liturgical leaders. However, the lines between liturgical leader and believer must not be drawn too sharply. Here again the danger is a one-sided association of priest with altar and a

35. This is the enduring question between "charisma" and "office" into which we cannot here enter. See von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*. On the Greek Orthodox side, see I. Karavidopoulos, "Χάρισμα τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ἀξιώματα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας" in *Τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Σεμινάριον Θεολόγων Θεσσαλονίκης, Τόμος 5ος* (Thessalonike, 1969), 21-33 and K. E. Papapetros, "Χάρις, Χάρισμα καὶ Ἀξιώματα" in *Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος: Σύναξις Ὁρθόδοξων Θεολόγων* (Athens, 1971), pp. 147-160. On the question of "institutionalization" I have offered extensive remarks in "Historical and Eschatological Aspects of the Church in the New Testament," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 22 (1977), especially 198ff.

consequent isolation of the liturgical leader as a cultic figure and exclusive mediator between God and people. The terms *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, still in use in the official language of the Greek Orthodox Church, properly indicate the wider functions of the ordained Church leaders, whereas the term *ἱερεύς*, which gained much currency in later centuries for many reasons, admittedly tends to encourage a ritualistic understanding of Christian priesthood.

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Two principles have guided the author in the preparation of his bibliography: 1) Chronology. Inclusion of writings having appeared in the years 1961 - 1975, and 2) Value. Presentation of writings having only academic importance.

The writings reach the number of 1007 and the book is the first long bibliography of its kind.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Imperial Twilight: The Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium. By Constance Head. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977. Pp. viii, 210, 8 plates, genealogical table.

Professor Head studied at Duke University and teaches at Western Carolina University. Her previous volumes of biography described the lives of Justinian II and Julian. This book recounts the stories of the last emperors of Byzantium, their families and their fates.

Professor Head has limited her venture to a "series of personal glimpses" (p. 4) of a small group of men and women who met, and occasionally mastered, a cruel fate. Her stage has no room for the many people whose labors fueled Byzantium. Despite an engaging style the book is a libretto not for grand opera but for something smaller, the oriental shadow-theater, *karagöz*.

Even though today's mediaevalists are invoking more analytical and topical approaches to the past, it would be wrong to fault Professor Head for adopting a more conventional, biographical method. This method does have the virtue of following the organization of the Byzantine chronicles. By contrast, however, when the author does stand back from the front row to seek out the organizing principles, the larger backdrop before which her figures played, her results are less fortunate. I quote one passage from her discussion of Andronikos II:

Was there some fatal flaw in Andronikos' methods of government that led to such unhappy results, or was it simply inherent in the nature of the times that decay was inevitable? Perhaps the latter is a fairer judgment, for though it is easy to catalogue the problems of the time, it is often hard indeed to formulate what might have been done differently with happier results. The Byzantine Empire by the late thirteenth century was already a nation grown old, a second-rate power unable to compete effectively against the younger, more vigorous states like the Italian republics of Venice and Genoa, the Slavic kingdoms of the Balkan peninsula, or the marauding Turks of Asia Minor, much less against all these rivals at once. (pp. 30-31)

Dramatic vocabulary here only betrays a shallowness of analysis. Application of the term "nation" to Byzantium is both anachronistic and de-

ceiving. But in any case, how does a nation grow old? By the standards of China, Byzantium was a mere tad. This biological analogy with human development is no more apt employing the word "vigorous," since vigor and sloth are found in all the ages of man. What made a state "vigorous"? Beneath the casual parading of these adjectives lurks a series of difficult, urgent questions of comparative history spurned by Professor Head. As for the "marauding" Turks, why did so many Christians collaborate with them? Or are such concerns beyond the historian, passed off as "simply inherent in the nature of the times." This reader is reminded of cotton candy, colorful and promising in the vendor's hand, hollow and unsatisfactory upon closer study.

It is always wise to stick close to the sources. To take over their uncritical attitudes, as I fear Professor Head tends to do, does not serve even the much-maligned general reader. At a time boasting of a large audience for Braudel and Wallerstein in paperback, this book reflects an approach "already . . . grown old. . . ."

Rudi Paul Lindner
The University of Michigan

Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830): Continuity and Change. Edited by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, John P. Anton, John A. Petropulos, and Peter Topping in behalf of the Modern Greek Studies Association. Introduction by John A. Petropulos. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies—156, 1976. Pp. 237. \$15.00.

The book under review here deserves to be in the hands of every student of modern Greek studies. It contains ten papers (eight of which were originally delivered at the Harvard Symposium of the Modern Greek Studies Association on May 7-9, 1971 on the 150th anniversary of modern Greek independence) on a topic of vital interest to modern Hellenists—all of them written with exemplary clarity and splendidly organized. The book itself contains a Preface, Glossary, and Introduction that are followed by four main parts: "Before Liberation," "Problems of Liberation," "After Liberation," a "Bibliographical Essay," and a general index. Each paper provides new insights into a much studied phenomenon that John Petropulos prefers to call "an armed struggle of Greeks for liberation from Ottoman Turkish rule" and "A war of liberation rather than *the* war of liberation" (p. 19). The volume does not pretend to be comprehensive or all-inclusive but has as its basic objective the examination of the nature of the event and the evaluation of its significance.

In the first essay, "The Greeks under Turkish Rule" (45-58), Speros Vryonis, Jr. of the University of California at Los Angeles studies the era of the Turkokratia as an important period in the long history of the

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In Memoriam

PANAGIOTES N. TREMBELAS

1886-1977

On 19 November 1977 Panagiotēs N. Trembelas, Professor Emeritus of the School of Theology of the University of Athens died at St. Savas Hospital in Athens.

A serious and industrious Greek Orthodox theologian and inspiring teacher and writer, Professor Trembelas was among the foremost spokesmen of contemporary Orthodox theology.

Born in Hipsounta (Tremnitsa) of Gortynia in the Peloponnesos in 1886, he graduated from the School of Theology of the University of Athens in 1907. He began his teaching career at the University of Athens in 1918 and became full Professor of the School of the Theology holding the chair of Catechetics, Liturgics and Rhetorics. He held this position until his retirement in 1957.

In 1907 he was one of the founders of the "Zoe" Brotherhood and served as writer and editor of the "Zoe" periodical. Fifty-two years later he left "Zoe" and in 1960 he helped establish the new "Sotir" Brotherhood and publish their periodical of the same name.

Also fluent in English and French, Professor Trembelas was fully cognizant of the theological and intellectual happenings outside of Greece, although he himself had never studied outside of his homeland. He was a well-known figure in international theological circles. In 1954 he participated in the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois. He attended the first and third Pan-Orthodox Conferences in Rhodes (1961 and 1964) as representative of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as well as the fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference in Belgrade (1966). As one of the presiding professors and speakers at the Second International Conference of Orthodox Theologians at the Penteli Monastery in Athens in 1976, he left lasting impressions with his wisdom, mellowness, humility, and theological acumen.

A tireless preacher and prolific writer of books, papers, articles, reviews, and sermons, he combined preaching and writing with utmost success. He left more than six thousand sermons and hundreds of books and monographs.

One of his most important contributions lies in the field of liturgics. He was the first to publish the texts of unedited codices found in Greece; his book *The Three Liturgies according to the Athenian Codices* (1935) and series of books on the services and sacraments place Trembelas among the outstanding liturgists of our times. With care and scholarly objectivity, he studied the ancient, Byzantine, and post-Byzantine sources, establishing the fact that liturgical life is not a static phenomenon, but always evolving, new, and relevant. In this respect he was a pioneer and innovator. His work *The Liturgical Forms of Egypt and the East: A Contribution to the History of Christian Worship* (1961) shows his vast liturgical knowledge and experience.

In the fields of homiletics and catechetics he wrote *Adam and Eve: Popular Sermons from the Scriptures* (1925 and 1965), *St. John Chrysostom as Preacher* (1924), *The Patriarchs* (1964), and *Catechetics, or The History and Theory of Catechism* (1931). Canon law did not escape his interest and he produced *The Marriage of the Clergy* (1926), *Participation of the Laity in Episcopal Elections* (1925), *The Royal Priesthood* (1957), and *Principles of Autocephaly* (1957).

Professor Trembelas' scriptural works are also noteworthy. He published commentaries on all the books of the New Testament except Revelation. His editions include the biblical text, modern Greek translation, and commentaries. Although he makes extensive use of the tools of contemporary scholarship, he claims that his intention is to offer "the accepted and valid and authentic interpretation, which embodies faithfully the hermeneutic tradition of the Orthodox Church." His commentaries are based on the Fathers of the Church since he believed that "Scriptures need authentic interpretation, which one finds in the writings of the blessed teachers of the Church, in which Tradition was embodied" (*Dogmatike*, 2:132).

His three monumental volumes: *Dogmatike* (1959, 1961), all translated into French by Pierre Cummont in *Textes et Etudes Theologiques*, Chevetonge (1966-68), established him as one of the foremost Orthodox theologians of our times. Other dogmatic works include *The Ethical Perfection of Christ in Human Nature* (1930) and *The Mother of the Redeemer* (1958).

Other writings embraced the fields of Old Testament research, symbolics, apologetics, hagiography, Christian archeology, and church history. One of his last works was the small book on *The Autocephaly of the Metropolia in America*, translated into English by G.S. Bebis, R. Stephanopoulos, and N.M. Vaporis (Brookline, Mass., 1973), in which he shows his concern for the Church in America.

Conservative and modern, traditionalist and innovator, a man of theory and theologian of action, he epitomized many virtues of a saintly man of the Church. Although he was sometimes criticized and his break with the "Zoe" movement was called into question, no one could deny his genuine asceticism, his sincerity and absolute devotion to Christ and His Church; and his unfailing sense of service to the people of God. Not merely an academic theologian, he was a living example of a Christian teacher who translated theology into daily living.

Professor Trembelas' funeral took place on 19 November 1977 at the Cathedral of Athens, where the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, hundreds of bishops, teachers, theologians, and lay people gathered to pay their last respects to the "Teacher" who had left a lasting impact on Orthodox theology. At that time it was said that he had renewed the bond of Orthodox theology and the divinely-inspired patristic tradition. A layman of admirable Christian integrity, Professor Trembelas showed how to live in Christ and how to die in Christ. May his memory be always eternal.

George S. Bebis

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

JEWS AND JUDAISM IN THE EARLY GREEK FATHERS (100 A.D. - 500 A.D.)

There are very few books which deal with the attitude of the Greek Fathers and Ecclesiastical writers toward Jews and Judaism. A few broad surveys that exist¹ are limited in scope and chronology. They are hardly adequate to vanquish old myths and stereotypes. Thus the cliché is perpetuated that the Greek Fathers were anti-Semitic, intolerant, and narrow-minded. May I state from the outset that, in my opinion, it is an error to accuse the Greek Fathers of being "anti-Semitic." Anti-Semitism in a modern context was foreign to the Greek Fathers.

We need a series of specialized studies, such as the recent *Origen and the Jews*,² before a synthesis on the Greek Fathers and Judaism is even attempted. To draw conclusions from inferences and general statements is to perpetuate misunderstandings. The problem with themes like the present is, indeed, how to interpret various sermonary pronouncements and rhetorical remarks made by different authors, for diverse occasions and for a variety of audiences in the course of many centuries.

"Jews and Judaism in the Early Greek Fathers" is a very large topic, and it cannot be treated exhaustively in the confines of a conference of this nature. Therefore, what I have to offer is only an overview. For our purpose I have selected Greek Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of different geographical areas and of diverse theological schools in the first five centuries of our era.

The attitude of the Greek Fathers toward Jews and Judaism should be examined in the context of the religious climate and the historical milieu in which they lived. The chronological period between the Apostolic Fathers and the Chalcedonian

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1. Robert Wilde, *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1949). For a comprehensive summary of the attitude of the Greek Fathers toward Jews and Judaism see also A.C. McGiffert, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew* (New York, 1889), pp. 1-20.

2. N.R.M. deLange, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge, 1976).

Fathers was a period of cosmogonic events. Political upheavals, social changes, intellectual reorientations, the quest for new moral and spiritual values, the crisis of the third century and breakup of the unity of the Mediterranean world, and the decline of the ancient and emergence of the medieval mind affected the psyche and the outlook of all. One crisis after another gave rise to eschatological expectations and the search for scapegoats. Religious antagonisms, conversions, polemical and apologetic controversies, intolerance and theological self-righteousness had replaced the religious syncretism and tolerance which prevailed for several centuries in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Jewish exclusiveness was inherited by Christianity, which had come to claim possession of absolute truth and of a special election. In the struggle between Christianity, Judaism, and the Greco-Roman pantheon, Judaism was humiliated, Greek and Roman paganism vanished and went underground to reemerge later in cultic forms, while Christianity emerged as the victor and the dominant religion of the Western world.

The Greek Fathers were the product of those transitional years, and they bear all the characteristics of the mind and the ethos of the times in which they functioned. It can be stated from the outset that only a few of the Greek Fathers wrote systematic diatribes against or apologies for the Jews as a people or against Judaism as a religion. Most Greek Fathers incidentally referred to Jews and Judaism. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that at no time were the Jews and Judaism singled out for either kinder or more ruthless treatment than was accorded to other religious minorities and creeds during the first five centuries of our era. Those of the Greek Fathers who dealt with non-Christian subjects and faiths wrote just as much against Jews and Judaism as they wrote against "Hellenes" and Hellenism, pagans, heretics, and schismatics alike. They condemned the "superstitions of the Jews" with as much zeal as they attacked "the gods and the wisdom of the Hellenes"; they opposed Judaism for the same reason that they objected to Greek, Roman, Persian, or any other religious faith.

To be sure, Jews and Judaism were condemned by a number of Greek Fathers but, as far as the Fathers were concerned, the opponents of Christianity were not only the Jews and Judaism

but every non-Christian and non-Christian religion and creed. The Greek Fathers did not single out Judaism, but they made the whole non-Christian world their target. Their hostility, whether in the form of a mild antipathy or violent reaction, was directed toward all the non-Christian world. The Jewish nation, however, was condemned because it had rejected Jesus, who was perceived by the Jewish Christians as the Messiah. The Christian Community was born in the bosom of Judaism, and yet it was repudiated and persecuted by the Jews. When Christians and Jews separated and each community followed its own course, polemics were initiated by both sides.

Evidence confirms that we cannot speak of one uniform or monolithic position of the Greek Fathers toward Jews and Judaism. There were various and diverse attitudes and stands not only among the Greek Fathers collectively, but also among the Fathers of the same ecclesiastical climate, the same theological school, and the same geographical district. Thus there were differences among the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the Alexandrians, the Antiochians, the Cappadocians, and so on. Notwithstanding the diversity, there are certain common denominators that underlie their treatment of Jews and Judaism.

Not all Jews were invariably criticised or condemned. After all many of them were Christians. Few Greek fathers held all Jews collectively responsible or guilty for the death of Jesus. When Jews were condemned, they were blamed because even though they had enjoyed the favor and the trust of God, they had betrayed the Almighty by persecuting his messengers, the prophets. There was both pity for and denunciation of those Jews who stubbornly refused to recognize, in the person of Jesus, the expected Messiah. Several Fathers criticised the Jews for arrogance and exclusiveness, for self-righteousness and superstition.

Concerning Judaism as a religion, the Greek Fathers viewed it as the most important vehicle of God's revelation to mankind before Christ. But for them, Judaism had fulfilled its propaedeutic mission, and it was expected to give way to Christianity. Certain fathers attacked Judaism for its rituals, sects, celebrations, and practices, such as the rite of circumcision, the Trumpets of the New Year, the Tabernacle, the Fasts, the charms, and amulets. But as a whole, Jews and Judaism fared

much better in the writings of the Greek Fathers than the pagan Hellenes, the heretics, the Manichaeans, and other religious minorities and creeds.

The Jews as a people and Judaism as a religion are either ignored or seldom mentioned by the Apostolic Fathers. When they are noted, they are usually discussed in connection with the Judaizer Christians. While the Apostolic Fathers drew some of their teachings from several Old Testament books, they did not feel that they borrowed from the Jewish heritage for they considered the events and the personalities of the Old Testament of universal significance and as a patrimony of their own heritage.

Clement of Rome writes nothing negative about Judaism. In fact, he finds in Old Testament personalities prototypes of the virtuous life, peace, and harmony. Prophets are highly regarded and are called "*Leiturgoι charitos*" or "servants of grace."³ Even though there was a suspicion, if not a conviction, that Jews provoked in part the persecution of the Christians under Domitian, Clement makes no use of the rumors. The only repudiation of the Jews that we find in Clement is when he compares them with the Christians. The latter have replaced the Jews in the relationship between God and mankind, and Jews can no longer make claims to exclusiveness and special relationship with God.⁴

Ignatios of Antioch has been one of the most influential of the Apostolic Fathers. He refers to the Jews and Judaism in general terms. His specific polemics were directed against the Judaizer Christians. For example, he attacked their keeping of the Sabbath instead of the Lord's Day,⁵ their dependence on the tradition and the archives of the ancients instead of the *kerygma* about Christ.⁶ Once a Jew becomes a Christian, he no longer needs to observe Judaism. For Ignatios, Judaism and Christianity were two different faiths, and Christianity was the older of the two because Christ as God pre-existed the Patriarchs, Moses, and the Fathers of Judaism. He emphasized

3. *First Epistle to the Corinthians* 4.7-18.

4. *Ibid.*, 29, 30; cf. Stanley S. Harakas, "The Relationship of Church and Synagogue in the Apostolic Fathers," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 11.3 (1967), 124-26. Wilde.

5. *Magnesiens* 9:1.

6. Ignatios, *Philadelphians* 8:3.

that since Christianity antedated Judaism, it did not base its faith on Judaism but Judaism relied on Christianity.

Since Christianity is all encompassing and supersedes Judaism, Ignatios advised: "Should anyone expound Judaism, do not listen to him. It is preferable, surely, to listen to a circumcized man preaching Christianity than to an uncircumcized man preaching Judaism." The task of both, the uncircumcized and the circumcized, was to preach Christ.⁷ Therefore it is absurd to talk of Jesus Christ and at the same time to practice Judaism, observing the rituals, keeping the Sabbath, honoring tradition.

Everyone who professed faith in God was in a state of grace and a Christian, even though he lived before the incarnation of Christ. Thus the Old Testament prophets, who lived in accordance with the ways of Christ, who announced His coming, who hoped in Him, who were persecuted for Him, "won the full approval of Him."⁸ They were Christians before the coming of Christ.

Along with the prophets, Jesus, too, was persecuted and crucified, but Ignatios did not place the blame on any one person or people. The crucifixion was part of God's plan, and the purpose of Jesus' death was to draw to Himself saints from among all nations, Jews as well as Gentiles.⁹ Ignatios viewed Judaism, especially the prophets, as God's instruments for the salvation of humankind, but mankind's expectations have found their fulfillment in Christ.¹⁰ Ignatios' understanding of Judaism appears like a refrain in the writings of many Christian authors.

It can be said that the prototype for Ignatios and other Fathers, in their attitude towards Jews and Judaism, was Paul—the Hellenized Jew, citizen of the Roman Empire—who had stood above Hellenism, Judaism, and Rome. Like Paul, they attacked the literal interpretation of the law and saw in Christ the fulfillment of all prophecies and God's promises. Even though the *Ekklesia* and the *Synagoge* were rivals, the early *Ekklesia* was a reformed *Synagoge*. The Fathers were concerned less with condemnation of the Jews and more with the need to

7. Ignatios, *Philadelphians* 6.

8. Ignatios, *Magnesians* 8 and 10.

9. Ignatios, *Smyrneans* 10.

10. Ignatios, *Magnesians* 9:1-2.

transform Judaism in the light of Christianity.

The author of a tract on Judaism which has survived under the name of Barnabas is one of the harsher repudiators of Judaism. The unknown author extensively used the allegorical method and was greatly influenced by Philo the Jew. He is over-zealous in his Christian faith and seeks to demonstrate that the Jews misinterpreted the law because they interpreted it literally. Even though scholarship has not established the author's identity, his use of the allegorical method and Philo's influence indicate that he came from Alexandria and that he might have been a convert from Judaism. Let us note in passing that some of the harshest attacks on Jews and Judaism came from Jewish converts to Christianity.

Another Apostolic father, the anonymous author of the Epistle to Diognetos, is critical of both Jews and Judaism, but he is no more caustic toward Jews and Judaism than he is toward the Greeks and Greek religion. He acknowledges that the Jews are different in the sense that they believe in one God. But their sacrifices, their attachment to ritual, their superstitions, and their burnt offerings make them in no way better than those who show the same respect to deaf-mute images. Furthermore the author ridicules the tedious Jewish attitude toward food, their superstitious attitudes toward the Sabbath, and their pride in circumcision, the feast of the new moon, and other practices. He writes:

And what does it deserve but ridicule to be proud of the mutilation of the flesh [circumcision] as a proof of election, as if they were, for this reason, especially beloved by God? And their attention to the stars and moon, for the observance of months and days, and for their arbitrary distinctions between the changing seasons ordained by God, making some into feasts, and others into occasions of mourning—who would regard this as proof of piety, and not much more of foolishness.¹¹

The anonymous author considered many Jewish practices silly and condemned the Jews for deceit, fussiness, and pride. To what degree that author was well-informed about Jewish practices in the second or the third century, we cannot discuss here. The fact is that here we have a panegyric on Christian

11. *The Epistle to Diognetos* 3, 4.

beliefs and character and an exposition of the inadequacies of both the Greek and Jewish religions. The Greeks were condemned for foolishness and the Jews for superstition and, in a way, for foolishness, too. Both nations are guilty of persecuting the Christians. "They are warred upon by the Jews as foreigners and are persecuted by the Greeks who . . . cannot state the cause of their enmity."¹²

The Jews were invariably condemned when they sided with the Roman authorities and the gentiles in the early persecutions of the Christians.¹³ In some of those persecutions the Jews are described as more fanatic and "extremely zealous" in assisting in the work of the persecutors.

The author of the *Didache*—The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles—speaks of the break between the Christian *Ekklesia* and the Jewish *Synagoge* and indicates that a widening gulf separates them but he does not indulge in any anti-Jewish or anti-Judaism statements.¹⁴

The first systematic and the oldest apology for Christianity and repudiation of the Jews is "The Dialogue with Trypho" by Justin the Philosopher and Martyr. Justin's concern is to defend Christianity and explain it to both Jews and Hellenes. For Justin the Old Testament had a propaedeutic purpose and the Mosaic law only a temporary jurisdiction. In discussing the Old Testament, Justin selects passages which indicate that Israel was rejected by God and the "Gentiles" were chosen in Israel's place. He writes that the truth is to be found with Moses and the prophets, but vestiges of the true knowledge of God can be found in the teachings and writings of the Greek philosophers and thinkers as well.¹⁵

While some early apocryphal writers, such as the author of the Gospel According to Peter, place the responsibility for the death of Jesus exclusively on the Jews, Justin placed the blame on the demons who blinded and instigated the Jews to inflict the sufferings on Jesus.

Among the early writers of Alexandria, Origen was the most

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 12, 13.

14. *Didache* 8:3, 8:1; cf. Harakas, pp. 126-27.

15. For Justin's attitude toward the Mosaic law see the penetrating monograph of Theodore Stylianopoulos, *Justin Martyr and the Mosaic Law* (Scholars Press, 1975). For Justin's attitude toward the Jews see pp. 32-44.

prolific and the most tolerant of all. Modern scholarship on the subject confirms Origen's sympathies and debt to Judaism. Origen personally knew several Jewish teachers of his time. He makes use of Jewish methods in his exegesis of the Old Testament and gives a sympathetic view of the Jews and their relations with non-Jews. Modern scholarship reveals that there is a substantial influence of Jewish thought on Origen.¹⁶ The Jew have a long tradition of Biblical exegesis, and Origen as well as other Biblical commentators borrowed from Jews in their interpretation of the Old Testament. But in certain areas, especially in their interpretation of prophecy, the Greek Fathers went far beyond Jewish exegesis.¹⁷

The attitude of several Church Fathers changed after Christianity became the state religion in 392 under Theodosios I. The most polemical of them came from cities or districts with large Jewish populations—Antioch, Caesarea in Palestine, and Alexandria. John Chrysostom, the fiery preacher of Antioch, Eusebios of Caesarea, and Cyril of Alexandria devoted special treatises and wrote extensively about Jews and Judaism. On the one hand they tried to protect their own flock from Jewish influences, and on the other they intended to make converts of the Jews.

St. John Chrysostom, as presbyter in Antioch, delivered many sermons in which he is critical of the Jews as a people. In fact, Chrysostom was more critical than most Greek Fathers from any geographical region. He criticized the Jews for pride, arrogance, malice, vainglory, hypocrisy, betrayal and ingratitude, covetousness, exclusiveness, and reliance on their descent. John's arguments are based not only on the fact that they did not receive Christ but also on the treatment that the Old Testament prophets received from them. He condemned their pride and arrogance which, in his eyes, had no justification. For example, Chrysostom exclaimed in the following words: "Why do you exalt yourself, O Jew? Why are you so arrogant? You, like all the world, are guilty, and, like others, are placed in need of being justified freely." He reminds the Jews of Antioch that "pride is the beginning of sin" and "every one who is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord," citing the books of

16. N.M.R. deLange, pp. 1-2.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-35.

Ecclesiastes and the Proverbs (Eccles. 10:13; Prov. 16:5).¹⁸

For their haughtiness and pride, resulting from their belief that they were the chosen people of God, as well as for parading Abraham's name as evidence of their origin and of their virtue, the Jews were ridiculed by churchmen such as Chrysostom. These evil attributes were considered to be the source of God's displeasure and of the troubles that the Jews had with other nations.¹⁹ To what degree the Jews of Chrysostom's times behaved arrogantly and how much of Chrysostom's condemnation rests on undisputed evidence are questions beyond the purpose of this paper. Nevertheless, Chrysostom relied on the words of Jesus, who himself condemned repeatedly the continual references and appeals of his compatriots to their ancestry and to Abraham in particular. Actually, Chrysostom was repeating a well established stereotype.

Even though Chrysostom did not attribute the guilt for the crucifixion of Jesus to all Jews, he described Jewish justice in the trial of Jesus before the chief priest Caiaphas as perverted.²⁰ He condemned the Jews at the trial who cried out to Pilate "His blood be on us, and on our children" (Mat. 27:25), but he did not accept it as a curse which affected the life of later generations. In the words of Chrysostom: "The lover of man, though the Jews acted with so much madness, both against themselves and against their children so far from confirming their sentence upon their children, confirmed it not even on them . . . and counts them worthy of good things beyond number."²¹ Nevertheless, Chrysostom regarded the Jews present at the trial and the crucifixion as "authors of the spiteful acts done by the [Roman] soldiers . . . becoming accusers, and judges, and executioners."²²

It should be noted that Chrysostom was not less critical of Hellenes or heretics. His criticism emanated from his desire to see all in the fold of the Christian *Ekklesia*, to see "the heathen and the Jews . . . come to the right faith."²³ There is very little

18. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on St. John*, No. 10.2.

19. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, No. 3.3.

20. *Ibid.*, No. 84.2.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 86.2.

22. *Ibid.*, No. 87.1.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 28.19-20.

evidence that Chrysostom's condemnation of the Jews was motivated by the crucifixion. For him, the rejection of Christ as the Messiah meant rejection of Moses and the Prophets.

Chrysostom's homilies against the Jews were intended primarily for his Christian flock and only incidentally for Jews. It should be noted that when Chrysostom delivered his famous homilies, the Jews of Antioch were still an influential power engaged even in proselytism.²⁴ Chrysostom tried to protect his flock from their influence, and in his pastoral zeal he was driven to hyperbole.

Chrysostom wrote, of course, a specific but incomplete treatise against the Jews. But this, too, was not intended exclusively for them. The Greek name of his essay is translated into English as "A Demonstration to Jews and Greeks That Christ Is God, From the Sayings Concerning Him Everywhere in the Prophets." In this essay Chrysostom writes that the Jews have been punished for their rejection of the Messiah and for their treatment of Christ.²⁵

Another Antiochian, who wrote a special diatribe against the Jews, was Theodoretos, who became bishop of Cyrus. His treatise, however, is lost. It is only from surviving letters that we can infer what he had to say about the Jews. The main purpose of his *Contra Judaeos* was to show "that the prophets foretold Christ."²⁶

Perhaps the most zealous polemicist among the Greek Fathers not only against Jews, Judaism, Hellenes, and Hellenism but against all heretics, schismatics, and opponents was Cyril of Alexandria. His intemperate polemic against paganism and Judaism, as well as other dissidents, is evident in many of his writings, especially in his Paschal Letters.²⁷ He was uncharitable not only to Jews, pagans, Novatians, and other non-Christian faiths and Christian heresies, but also to adversaries and theological antagonists. He was responsible for the Greek philosopher Hypatia's death as he was responsible for the expulsion of the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria.²⁸

24. Cf. Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 7.16, 17.

25. *Homilies*, P.G. 48:843-942.

26. *Epistle* 145.

27. P.G. 77:401-982.

28. Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 7.12, 13.

Some of the Fathers did not write directly against Jews and Judaism, and though they glow with enthusiasm for Christianity they do not indulge in any systematic polemics. For example, Eusebios of Caesarea is critical of Judaism, but he wrote against Judaism in order to answer accusations of the Jews that the Christians accepted Judaism's blessings promised for the Jews themselves without accepting the obligations of the law. But for Eusebios the Mosaic Law was given as a temporary economy, to serve as the guide for a transition between the Age of the Patriarchs and the Age of Christ.²⁹ Even these observations were not directed as a polemic against the Jews but the whole treatise of *Demonstratio Evangelica* was aimed at Porphyry's essay *Against the Christians*.

Certain Greek Fathers such as Athanasios³⁰ and Basil viewed Judaism as a Trojan Horse which tried to infiltrate Christianity and undermine its doctrines of the Trinity or the divinity of Christ through heresies that derived from it. To deny the divinity of Christ meant to deny the possibility of the divination of man through Christ. The God-made-man event meant the man-made-God result. Christian heresies such as Sabellianism and Monarchianism drew their arguments from Judaism. They stressed the Monarchy of God the Father and taught that Jesus is either a manifestation of the God of the Old Testament in the New Testament, or a power of the Old Testament God. But denial of the incarnation of God meant denial of the deification of man.

The early Fathers of the Eastern Roman Empire, thought of Greek origin or of Greek cultural and intellectual background, or simply Greek speaking persons, viewed Christianity as a faith and way of life above racial and cultural boundaries. As religious persons they were neither Greek nor Jewish. For them Greeks and Jews were united in the Messiah, who destroyed the enmity between the two. As the cosmopolitan Paul of Tarsus (a Hellenized Jew, citizen of Rome) wrote to the small Greek Christian Community of Ephesos: "Remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh . . . were . . . alienated from the Commonwealth of Israel . . . But now in Christ Jesus . . . you have been brought near to us in the blood of Christ . . . He has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of

29. *Demonstratio Evangelica* 1 and 2.

30. Athanasios, *Against the Arians* 1.38.

hostility, . . . that he might create in himself one new human being in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end" (Eph. 2:11-16).

On the whole, the attitude of the Greek Fathers toward Jews and Judaism was determined by the New Testament writings. Christians represented the new breed, the reborn humanity, and it was on that basis that church Fathers condemned all those who stubbornly refused to see "the new humanity" and insisted on the old dividing wall between Greeks and Jews, Gentiles and Israelites.

To summarize: The Jews as a people were treated no differently from other people. Judaism as a religion introduced by Moses had only a temporary mission. The law of Moses was given as a propaedeutic instrument, while the law of Christ was perceived as the new and eternal covenant with universal jurisdiction. The old Israel of the Old Testament betrayed the trust of God, who removed his promises and replaced the old with the new Israel, the believers and followers of Christ.

According to the collective mind of the Greek Fathers,³¹ Christian truth antedates Christ. The Old Testament prophets, as well as some Greek philosophers and thinkers who wrote about the Logos, were Christians before Christ. Thus Jews and Greeks were admonished to dispense with their old beliefs and practices and adopt the new dispensation. It was under the influence of this mind that the Greek Fathers expected both "gentiles" and "barbarians" to merge and become a new humanity, "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation."³²

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REVIEWS

Justin Martyr and the Mosaic Law. By Theodore Stylianopoulos. SBL Dissertation Series 20. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975, Pp. xi, 204. \$3.00 (paper).

This Harvard dissertation, written under the supervision of Helmut Koester, examines Justin Martyr's treatment of the Mosaic Law in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. The author chooses to divide his study into four chapters: (1) The Problem of the Law in Justin's *Dialogue*; (2) Justin's Concept of the Mosaic Law; (3) The Invalidity of the Law; and (4) The Purpose of the Law. This is supplemented with a lengthy appendix (pp. 167-195), in which Stylianopoulos presents an impressive array of arguments against the widely held view (e.g. Goodenough, Hyldahl, Voss) that the *Dialogue* was written primarily for a pagan audience. Stylianopoulos proposes instead that the intended addressees of the *Dialogue* were Jews and, secondarily, Christians.

According to Stylianopoulos, the central challenge facing Justin on the matter of the Mosaic Law was to account for its annulment without at the same time rejecting the God who gave it, or ascribing to Him indecisiveness or mutability. In order to accomplish this, Justin divides the Law into three parts: (1) the ethical Law, i.e. a "body of undefined commandments which for Justin express binding universal principles" (p. 56); (2) the predictive aspect of the Law, i.e. Law as prophecy of Christ; and (3) the Law given as "historical dispensation." It is this third aspect of the Law which Stylianopoulos places at the "forefront of Justin's interests" (p. 67), suggesting that for Justin, "the major weight of the Law is found in its role as historical dispensation" (p. 67). Stylianopoulos maintains that by arguing that the ritual Law was chiefly intended as historical (hence temporary) legislation, given to the Jews because of "hard-heartedness," Justin is able to show that the Law is therefore "invalid as an eternal criterion of salvation" (p. 77). Further, such an understanding of the Law would avoid imputing to God imperfection or indecisiveness; God's abrogation of the Law would reveal no inconsistency on His part, since He had intended from the very outset that the Law be annulled at a later time. In this way, says Stylianopoulos, Justin avoids entertaining ideas about God that are philosophically unsound or akin to Marcion's.

Fundamental to Stylianopoulos' study is his contention that Justin's understanding of the ritual Law as "historical dispensation" was shaped by his earlier confrontation with Marcion and gnostics (cf. p. 20ff.). To the extent that most of the secondary literature on the *Dialogue* has neglected this feature of Justin's thought, Stylianopoulos has made a real advance in scholarship on Justin. To be sure, Stylianopoulos is not the first to have suggested that arguments used against Trypho have been shaped by Justin's disputes with Marcion. Both Prigent (*Justin et l'Ancien Testament*

1961) and Campenhausen (*Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel*, 1968 pp. 106-22; ET, 1972, pp. 88-102) had earlier proposed much the same thing, and Stylianopoulos acknowledges a debt to both of them, especially Campenhausen (cf. p. 3). It is to Stylianopoulos' credit to have taken this basic insight, greatly expanded upon it, and demonstrated how, in specific examples in the *Dialogue*, Justin has been influenced, both negatively and positively, by his encounter with Marcion. If Stylianopoulos is right, Justin not only uses arguments against Trypho which he had developed earlier against Marcion; in some cases, he appears also to have taken Marcion's own criticisms of the Law and the "creator god," and employed them, in modified form, against his Jewish adversaries in the *Dialogue* (cf. pp. 166-67).

Stylianopoulos argues his case carefully, and his approach is a plausible and attractive alternative to the view that Justin's thought was formed mainly by philosophical and Platonic concerns. Obviously, one cannot discount this latter factor, and perhaps Stylianopoulos pays less attention to Platonic influence than he should have. Notwithstanding, Stylianopoulos has mounted a convincing argument that internal developments and conflict within Christianity of the second century were major factors in shaping Justin's doctrine of God and his understanding of the Law. One need only compare Stylianopoulos' analysis with Goodenough's classic treatment (*The Theology of Justin Martyr*, 1923), which highlights philosophical conceptual matters in Justin, to see how a heightened sensitivity to the polemical conditions under which Justin was writing can shed light on some of the more subtle features of his thought.

It can be asked, however, if Stylianopoulos has fully explored all the possibilities which his own approach suggests. Particularly in his discussion of the purpose and intended audience of the *Dialogue*, he does not appear to take full advantage of his own findings:

As we have noted, Stylianopoulos asserts that the *Dialogue* was principally a "writing for Jews" (cf. pp. 36ff.). Although many of his arguments against an intended pagan audience are compelling, one might ask if he has securely established that the *Dialogue* was meant for a Jewish audience. Theories about intended readership are rarely completely convincing, and Stylianopoulos himself withdraws somewhat from this contention, allowing that the *Dialogue* may have been meant, secondarily, for various Christian groups as well (cf. pp. 165f., 194f.).

But if we do accept Stylianopoulos' argument that the *Dialogue* was meant primarily for Jews, it is appropriate to ask: What occasioned the writing of the *Dialogue* and what purpose does it seek to fill? Stylianopoulos does consider this question rather briefly at the beginning of his book (pp. 39-44), but in my judgment, his explanation is not fully satisfactory. According to Stylianopoulos, the "key to the purpose of *Dialogue*" and the reason why it was written was Justin's conviction that a "remnant

of the Jews, according to God's plan, remains yet to be saved in Justin's own time" (p. 39). By this, Stylianopoulos seems to advocate the view that the *Dialogue* was essentially a missionary tract. As he says, "The setting of the *Dialogue* as a literary genre [?] seems to presuppose a concrete situation, where various kinds of Jews and Christians attempt to proselytize one another. On the basis of this evidence, one can well consider the possibility of the *Dialogue* as Justin's contribution to the mission field" (p. 38).

Now it cannot be doubted that missionizing may have formed part of the greater purpose of the *Dialogue*. But it is not at all self-evident that converting Jews to Christianity is the "key" to the *Dialogue* or even its major purpose, especially in view of Stylianopoulos' rich discussion of the anti-Marcionite aspect of the *Dialogue*. Justin's "purpose" in writing the *Dialogue* may have been, quite simple, to answer the several charges which Jewish critics had brought against Christianity in the early part of the second century. Assuredly, Justin might have felt compelled to answer these criticisms out of an earnest desire to convince the Jews of their folly and convert them, but a number of other explanations seems just as, or perhaps, more likely. The one that comes immediately to mind is Campenhausen's original proposal that the *Dialogue* was written, at least in part, to justify Christian use of the Old Testament in spite of the several challenges to it. Curiously, although this thesis is fundamental to Campenhausen's discussion of the *Dialogue*, Stylianopoulos does not explore its broader implications in any detail.

From the *Dialogue*, one could well imagine the sorts of criticisms which Jewish opponents of Christianity in the second century might have made regarding the failure of many Christians to observe the Mosaic Law. By not observing the Law, Christians could hardly claim the Old Testament as their own, especially since some of them (e.g. the Marcionites) had nothing but contempt for the God of the Old Testament and His Law. Justin's repeated assertion that the God of the Christians is the same as that of the Jews, and his condemnation of those who "blaspheme the Creator God" (ch. 35), could well be understood as a defense against Jewish polemic on this very issue. That there were knowledgeable Jews in the second century who knew about the various forms of Christianity current at the time is not at all unlikely, and Alan Segal's recent work, *Two Powers in Heaven* (1977, see esp. pp. 220-25), makes a strong argument for Rabbinic awareness of, and polemic against, Christian and Gnostic beliefs.

For Justin (unlike Marcion, for example, for whom these charges would have mattered little), Jewish polemics concerning the failure of Christians to observe the Mosaic Law would have required a response, since, in their own way, they posed a challenge to Christian use of the Old Testament, already in doubt because of Marcion and his school. As Campenhausen has noted, preserving the Old Testament for Christian usage was a vital con-

cern for Justin, both for personal and apologetical reasons. Especially as an apologist to the Greco-Roman world, Justin was committed to maintaining the continuity of Christianity with the venerable and ancient tradition embodied in the Old Testament. By retaining the Old Testament for Christians, Justin could claim for Christianity the same antiquity that Judaism had (cf. *Apol.* chs. 59ff.). The charge that Christianity was a new and dangerous religious movement that had disaffiliated itself from Judaism and could lay no claim to Jewish scriptures and Jewish tradition was a familiar one in pagan polemic; there are good grounds for supposing that pagan opponents of Christianity, such as Celsus, were aided here by Jewish critics. Intimations of this are already provided in the *Dialogue* (ch. 17), when Justin rebukes the Jews "for spreading ugly rumors which are repeated by those who do not know us." Many of Celsus' criticisms are placed in the mouth of a Jewish interlocutor; most telling is Celsus' comment that Christians pour abuse on the God of the Jews, and confess that they worship Him only when pressed into a corner by Jewish adversaries (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.29). In light of the fact that in the *Dialogue* Justin denies that Christians worship a god other than the Creator, and heaps scorn upon those who do, it would seem likely that a major weapon in the Jewish critique was the charge that Christians did not worship the same God as the Jews, and therefore could not claim Jewish scriptures as their own. As an answer to such charges, the *Dialogue* may belong more properly in the category of apologetic than missionary tract. Indeed, it may be supposed that one of the reasons why Justin argues his case almost exclusively on the basis of Jewish scriptures is to show not only how Christians can continue to use them, but that they are meaningful and comprehensible *only* from a Christian perspective.

A second aspect of Stylianopoulos' study deserves a note. This is his discussion of Justin's tripartite division of the Mosaic Law. Stylianopoulos holds that for Justin only part of the Law, the ritual Law, was intended by God as "historical legislation," designed exclusively for the Jews. Yet, in several places, he speaks of Justin's historical interpretation of "the Law." Presumably, he means by this the "ritual Law." One would agree with him that for Justin the ritual Law is his chief concern, but Stylianopoulos' occasional lack of specificity sometimes leads to ambiguity in his discussion.

Neither of these criticisms is decisive, nor should they be understood as detracting from Stylianopoulos' important contribution to our knowledge of Jewish-Christian contacts in the second century.

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KNOWING GOD THROUGH ICONS AND HYMNODY

Knowing God through icons or through hymnody, or both, is a subject to which no one, so far as I know, has devoted a book or an article. I have only come across occasional pertinent statements and passages in the writings of the Greek Church Fathers and other writers. I myself have not dealt with the subject before, except in a general way, in my books *Byzantine Thought and Art* and *Orthodox Iconography*. Thus, in the latter there is a chapter in which I discuss the functions of icons, and point out that icons "instruct us in matters of the Christian faith, remind us of this faith, lift us up to the prototypes which they symbolize, and help sanctify us." Here I shall discuss these functions with strict reference to God. In my discussions, I shall draw especially from the writings of the Greek Fathers, particularly St. John Damascene's three discourses *Against Those Who Decry the Holy Icons*. This is the most comprehensive Patristic treatment of icons. The discourses contain, besides the important insights of Damascene, those of other Eastern Fathers up to his time.

I shall not divide my discussion into two parts, one dealing with knowing God through icons, and the other dealing with knowing God through hymns, but shall treat both means of knowing together. For in their inner essence, traditional Orthodox iconography and hymnody are the same: their aim is identical, the knowledge they seek to convey is identical. They differ only in the media they employ, iconography using lines and colors on various kinds of surfaces, and hymnography words and rhythm. In some cases, one of these arts succeeds better than the other, either because the subject is of the type that can be expressed more vividly by it, or because of the state of the beholder or listener. Thus, the depiction of the Crucifixion in icons is more vivid than accounts of it in words.

Lecture given to the Orthodox Christian Fellowship of Harvard University on 12 December 1977 at Phillips Brooks House.

Also, the understanding of hymns requires more intellectual resources than does the understanding of icons. St. John Damascene calls icons books (*βιβλία*) of the illiterate (*ἀγράμματοι*), because the illiterate can understand the message which icons seek to convey, whereas they cannot read the accounts contained in Scripture and other sacred writings. Of course, he does not mean that icons are only for the illiterate. This is plain from his theology of icons, and from the example he cites of learned Fathers, such as St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. John Chrysostom, who were deeply moved by the sight of holy icons. Hymns require not only a capacity for understanding the meaning of words that is superior in the educated, but also a certain capacity for concentration, not required for the contemplation of icons. In a hymn, there is an element of time—the hymn unfolds for the listener or reader in time, and the various parts of it have to be held together by memory, if he is to get its meaning in an adequate manner. This requires attention, concentration throughout. In the icon, on the other hand, everything is given to us at once. The degree of concentration required is much less. However, at times hymns have a power surpassing that of icons, through their combined use of eloquent language, metaphor and rhythm, and the melody with which music invests them. Thus, although the depiction of Christ's Resurrection in Byzantine icons is very moving, it is surpassed by this brief hymn that is chanted jubilantly by all the Orthodox on Easter Day:

Christ hath risen from the dead,
by death trampling upon Death,
and hath bestowed Life
upon those in the tombs.

It is evident, that in the quest of knowledge of God, the use of both icons and hymns is definitely better than the exclusive use of one or the other.

The combined use of icons and hymnody is better also from the point of view of retaining the knowledge we acquire. It is a well-known principle of psychology that what enters into our mind through both sight and hearing is better retained than what enters through only one of these senses. In other words, if we both see something and hear about it a more lasting

impression is made in our mind, than if we only see it or only hear about it. The staunch defense of icons by St. John Damascene and others, in opposition to the iconoclasts, was motivated not only by theological considerations, such as the need of stressing by means of icons the extremely significant fact of the Incarnation of the Divine Logos, Christ, and by the insight that the spiritual can be expressed through material media, but also by the educational considerations which I have mentioned.

So much regarding my approach in this paper. Since we are concerned with knowing God, it is proper, I think, to say next something about the value of knowledge of God in particular, so that we might see in its true perspective the importance of the topic that is going to occupy us. St. John Damascene makes these remarks about knowledge at the beginning of the "Philosophical Chapters" of his magnum opus, *Fount of Knowledge*:

Nothing is more precious (*τιμιώτερον*) than knowledge (*γνῶσις*). For knowledge is the light of a rational soul, and, on the contrary, ignorance is its darkness. For just as the privation of light is darkness, so the privation of knowledge is the darkness of the rational faculty. Now ignorance is a distinctive characteristic of the irrational animals, while knowledge is a distinctive characteristic of rational beings. By knowledge I mean the true knowledge of things which exist.¹

In his *First Discourse Against Those Who Decry the Holy Icons*, speaking of the special kind of knowledge which concerns us here, that of God, he quotes Jesus' statement: "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent."² Not only Damascene, but also St. Gregory Nazianzen, Evagrius Pontikos, St. Maximos the Confessor, and other Fathers, as Vladimir Lossky observes, "identified the perfect knowledge of the Trinity with the Kingdom of God."³

The term knowledge is used in various senses, and we must distinguish those in which it will be used in this paper. One important distinction is that between direct and indirect know-

1. P.G. 94:529A.

2. John 17.3; P.G. 94:1236A.

3. *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), pp. 239-40.

ledge, between knowledge which consists in a direct apprehension or experience of an object or being, and knowledge which consists in an apprehension of it indirectly, through the mediation of images, ideas or concepts. The first we may call knowledge *of* a thing; the second, knowledge *about* it.

Another important distinction is between conscious and unconscious knowledge. There is knowledge that is possessed by an individual and is present in his mind at the level of consciousness, and there is knowledge possessed by him at the level of subconsciousness. That is, one may know something and actually think of this knowledge or meditate on it, and one may know something but not be actually thinking of it at a particular time. The first kind of knowledge, that of which we are conscious, is effectual in our lives; the second is not. The distinction between these two forms of knowledge comes out clearly in Aristotle's discussion of continence (*ἀκράτεια*). It is held, says Aristotle, that the incontinent man knows that a certain act is wrong, and yet does it, and thus acts contrary to his knowledge. Aristotle remarks that this happens because the man is not at the time thinking of his knowledge, but is like one who is asleep or drunk—his knowledge that the act is wrong simply does not enter into the situation, being clouded or suppressed by undisciplined passions.⁴ Effectual knowledge, knowledge that actually guides our actions, is consciously entertained knowledge, living conviction.

According to the Orthodox teaching on icons, as presented in the writings of St. John Damascene and others, through icons we not only learn about God, but we may also know God directly. Our knowledge of God, however acquired, tends to lapse into subconsciousness, and thus become ineffectual. Hence, we are urged again and again to be on our guard not to fall asleep spiritually, but to be wakeful, exercising inner attention and praying. Icons are themselves said to be important aids to inner wakefulness. They are called by Damascene books and memoranda (*ὑπομνήματα*) that teach us about God and His Saints and remind us of them.

What do icons actually teach us about God? First and foremost, they teach us about the Incarnation of the second hypo-

4. *Nicomachean Ethics*, 7.8.

stasis, of the Son and Logos of God, Christ. The icons depicting Christ tell us that, as the Fathers say, "Christ became man, that we might become God."⁵ By telling us of the Incarnation, affirming it vividly in line and color, they also tell us and remind us that our true ultimate end as Christians is *theosis*, 'deification,' union with God. For this is why Christ became man, taught, suffered, was crucified, and rose from the dead—to show us by words and deeds the way to *theosis*.

Christ is depicted both alone and with others. His coming into this world of space and time is depicted in the Nativity, where He is seen in the manger, which has the form of a cave, with the Theotokos reclining near Him, Joseph always farther away, and in the vicinity angels, shepherds, and the Magi, the wise men from the East. The icon of the Nativity tells us what the Gospel says in words: "And she [the Virgin Mary] brought forth her firstborn Son, and wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in the manger."⁶ "And lo, an angel of the Lord came, and . . . with him a multitude of heavenly host, praising God. . . . And shepherds came with haste and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger."⁷ Also the Magi came, "fell down and worshipped Him."⁸

The kontakion which is chanted at Christmas says the same thing poetically:

The Virgin today giveth birth unto Him Who is above being;
and the earth offereth a cave to Him Who is unapproachable;
angels together with shepherds sing hymns of praise;
and Magi, following the star, proceed in their journey;
for there was born for our sake a new Child, the eternal
God.

This hymn stresses the divinity of the Savior, by stating at the beginning that He was born of a Virgin and closing with the assertion that He is the God Who existed before all ages.

5. E.g. St. Maximos the Confessor, *Φλοκαλία*, 2 (Athens, 1958), 73, 98.

6. Luke 2.7.

7. Luke 2.9-16.

8. Matt. 2.11.

Thus, from the icon of the Nativity and the Christmas Kontakion we learn that God the Logos became incarnate, and the particular circumstances of His birth.

In the icon of the Baptism, Christ is shown standing in the river Jordan, while John the Forerunner stands on one of the banks of the river and angels on the other, and above Christ a dove, representing the Holy Spirit, descending from the vault of heaven. Here, too, the iconographer tells in line and color what the Gospel writer says in words:

Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him. . . . And Jesus, when baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and, lo, the heavens were opened unto Him, and He saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon Him. And lo a voice from Heaven saying: This is my beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased.⁹

The only part of this account that does not find expression in the icon, because it cannot be depicted by the art of painting, is the voice of the Father from Heaven.

In this icon, we have one of the few manifestations of the third hypostasis, the Holy Spirit, in depictable form. The eminent iconographer Photios Kontoglou remarks that the Holy Spirit revealed Himself in three forms: (a) as a dove, at the Baptism, (b) as a bright cloud, at the Transfiguration, and (c) as tongues of fire, at Pentecost.¹⁰ A fourth manifestation should be added: as an angel. The Holy Spirit manifested Himself as an angel in a vision which Abraham saw, described in Genesis 18:1-2. Abraham saw three angels, representing the three hypostases of God: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.¹¹ This manifestation of God is known as "The Hospitality of Abraham." In the Greek depiction of it, behind the Angels are seen Abraham and his wife Sarah. Andrew Rublev (ca. 1370 - ca. 1430), the foremost Russian iconographer, left out Abraham and Sarah in his depiction of the three Angels, and his depiction of them, having been separated from the actual occasion just mentioned,

9. Matt. 3:13-17.

10. "Εκφρασεις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Εἰκονογραφίας 1 (Athens, 1960), xxi.

11. Cf. Nikodemos the Hagiorite, *Πηδάλιον* (Athens, 1957), p. 320.

has come down to us under the misleading title of "The Holy Trinity."

The apolytikion which is chanted on January 6 in commemoration of the Baptism of Christ says:

When Thou wast baptized in the Jordan, O Lord, the worship of the Trinity was revealed; for the voice of the Father attested about Thee, calling Thee His beloved Son; and the Spirit in the form of a dove confirmed the certainty of the utterance. Glory be to Thee O Christ God, Who didst manifest Thyself and illumine the world.

The apolytikion tells us all that the icon says, and in addition something the icon cannot tell us in pictorial form: the utterance of God the Father.

Although the icon is called the Baptism, the event is commemorated by the Orthodox Church as "the Theophany (Θεοφάνεια) of our Lord and God, and Savior Jesus Christ," because through the voice of the Father that was heard, and the appearance of the Holy Spirit above Jesus as a dove, there was manifested the divinity of Jesus and attention was called to the mystery of the Trinity.

Another important representation of Christ is that of the Transfiguration. Here, Christ is shown standing on the highest peak of a mountain, surrounded by light in the form known as a mandorla—an oval representing the divine glory. Inside the mandorla there is sometimes a rose-colored quadrangular form, symbolizing the Holy Spirit.¹² In some Russian icons, instead of a quadrangular form there is a pentacle. On either side of Christ, at a lower level, stand the prophets Moses and Elias, and below, fallen upon the ground, dazed by the glory of Christ, are His three disciples John, Peter, and James. The light of Christ here shown is, according to the mystical theology of the Orthodox Church, an uncreated energy of God, an attribute of God. It is not created light, as held by Western theologians, such as Thomas Aquinas and his followers. So in contemplating the icon of Christ, we see in pictorial form, and get some idea of what the Greek Fathers mean by, the uncreated energies (ἄκτιστοι ἐνέργειαι) of God, as distinct from His essence

12. Kontoglou, *Ἑκφράσεις*, 1, xxi and 166-67; L. Ouspensky and V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Boston, 1955), p. 212.

(*οὐσία*), which is inaccessible to us, incomprehensible, inexpressible. We have here a very important manifestation of God, which occasioned much discussion among Byzantine theologians in the fourteenth century.

The Transfiguration icon tells us what the Gospel account and apolytikion which is chanted on the feast of the Transfiguration relate. In the Gospel we read:

And Jesus taketh Peter, James and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them; and His face did shine as the sun, and His raiment was white as light. And behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, taking with Him, . . . and a bright cloud overshadowed them.¹³

The hymn is not as detailed; it speaks of the Disciples, without giving their number or their names, or mentioning the theophany of the Holy Spirit as a bright cloud. It says much less than the icon does, but stresses what is most important, that the light seen at the Transfiguration was not created light, but eternal light:

Thou wast transfigured on the mountain O Christ God, having shown to Thy disciples Thy glory as they could behold it. Shine also upon us sinners Thine eternal light, through the intercessions of the Theotokos, glory be unto Thee.

There are many other depictions of Christ in icons: His Entrance into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, and the Ascension, to name just a few, where the same story is told pictorially that is told in the Gospels and in hymns that are chanted in the church. They all teach us, in some way or other, that Christ is not an ordinary human being, but the God-Man, the Savior, the fount of the eternal life, the Almighty.

The most impressive icon of Christ is that which depicts Him as Pantocrator, Ruler-of-All. It is painted in the central dome, and looks down upon the congregation. This representation consists of a large bust of Christ enclosed in a multi-colored circle, the iris or rainbow. He holds the Book of the Gospels in His left hand and blesses with His right. His head, which is encircled with a large halo inscribed with a cross, His face, His neck and shoulders all suggest great power and magnificence, in

13. Matt. 17.1-5.

keeping with the idea that He is the Pantocrator. His facial expression is that of an all-seeing and austere, yet merciful, Lawgiver and Judge. This icon reminds the faithful of the words of Paul the Apostle:

[And God the Father] raised Him from the dead, and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.¹⁴

The Pantocrator is also depicted, in much smaller dimensions, on panels placed on the iconostasis. Here, sometimes besides the attribute of power, that of light is stressed, the following words being written on the opened Book of the Gospels, which He holds: "I am the light of the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."¹⁵

I have spoken of icons depicting Christ and incidentally, in some cases, the Holy Spirit. With regard to the Holy Spirit, I have remarked that it appeared in four forms: as a dove, as a bright cloud, as tongues of fire, and as an angel. The icons in which He is shown in these forms are very few. I have spoken of four such icons. Later, I shall speak of a fifth. The most important manifestation of the Holy Spirit in iconography is in the depiction of Pentecost. Here, the Spirit is the only Divine hypostasis that is shown. Christ is absent, and there is no suggestion of the Father, either. Depicted in the icon of the Pentecost are the Twelve Apostles, seated, and above the head of each one there is a tongue of fire, representing the descent and illuminating action of the Holy Spirit. Significantly, in strictly traditional iconography, the icon of Pentecost is the only composition of a New Testament incident where the Apostles are shown with a halo, for it was at Pentecost that they became partakers of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, saints.¹⁶

14. Eph. 1.20-23.

15. John 8.12.

16. Photios Kontoglou, "Εκφρασις, 1, 184-86.

The icon of Pentecost follows closely what is said in Holy Scripture, in particular the Acts of the Apostles, where we read:

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they [the Apostles] were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly, there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Spirit.¹⁷

The apolytikion which is chanted on Pentecost speaks of the descent of the grace of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles as follows:

Blessed art Thou, O Christ our God, Who didst render the fishermen all-wise, having sent down upon them the Holy Spirit, and through them didst draw mankind, O lover-of-man, glory unto Thee.

These manifestations of the Holy Spirit were made in order that the presence and action or energy of Him Who is in Himself formless and invisible might be vividly realized by those present, and by subsequent generations who would hear or read about these events, or see them represented in icons. The following passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans finds application here, and St. John Damascene quotes it in his defense of holy icons: "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead."¹⁸

It might be added that the dove is a natural symbol of peace, for it is a pacific creature, and peace is one of the fruits of the grace of the Holy Spirit, according to St. Paul, who says: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace."¹⁹ Fire, too, is a natural symbol of the Spirit. Orthodox mystics, the "hesychasts," who practice mental prayer, feel the action of Divine grace as warmth of the heart; and they identify the fire which Christ says He came to send on earth with the action of divine grace within us, which consumes the 'earth' of our passions.²⁰

17. Acts 2.1-4.

18. Rom. 1.20; P.G. 94:1241A-B.

19. Gal. 5.22.

20. E.g. St. Symeon the New Theologian, *Τὰ Εὐρισκόμενα* (Syros, 1886), Part 2, p. 1.

The appearance of the first person of the Holy Trinity, the Father, in iconography, is even rarer than that of the Holy Spirit. The depiction of Him in icons at all finds its justification in visions (*ὁράματα*) recorded in the Old Testament. One of these is the already mentioned vision of Abraham, who saw three angels representing the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. The other depiction of Him, where He is shown as an old man, finds its justification in a vision of the Prophet Daniel. In the Book of Daniel we read: "I [Daniel] beheld in the night a vision, and, lo, one coming with the clouds of heaven as the Son of man, and he came on to the Ancient of Days (*Παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν*)."²¹

The vision is both a vision of God the Father as an old man, and a prophecy of the Incarnation of Christ.²² The Father, as the Ancient of Days, is represented in the form of Pantocrator in the upper part of the prothesis, in the holy bema (sanctuary), or—if there is one—in the small dome at the prothesis, again in the form of Pantocrator. His hair and beard are white. In His left hand He holds a dove, evidently used by the iconographer to give symbolic expression of the Orthodox doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only.

Where the full vision of Daniel is depicted, Christ is included. Both the Father and the Son are represented seated on thrones, Christ to the right of the Father. About them are angels.²³

The theme of the Ancient of Days occurs occasionally in Orthodox hymnography, too, in an incidental way. An example is the eighth troparion of the *Ainoi*, "Praises," in the Barys Mode:

Why did you reject the cornerstone, you lawless Judaeans?
This is the stone which God placed in Sion, He who Caused
the water in the desert to spring up, and who gushes forth
from His side immortality for us; He is the stone that has
been cut off from a Virgin mountain without the will of a
man; He is the Son of man Who cometh upon the clouds of
heaven to the Ancient of Days, as Daniel hath said, and His
kingdom is eternal.

21. Dan. 7.13 (Septuagint).

22. St. John Damascene, P.G. 94:1345B.

23. Cf. St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite, *Πηδάλιον*, p. 307.

The depiction of the Father in iconography is a minor theme, as it takes us back to visions of the Old Testament period. It is placed in a part of the Church which does not give it emphasis: the prothesis, in the holy bema, which is not open to the view of the congregation. What it contributes to our knowledge of God is an awareness of the early, Old Testament theophany, in visions. In hymnography, on the other hand, the theme of the Father is a frequently recurring one. All the innumerable hymns termed *Triadika*, which are in praise of the Holy Trinity, speak of Him. And all the innumerable hymns called *Doxastika* are introduced by the verse: "Glory unto the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

About the legitimacy of depicting God the Father in the forms just mentioned, and in general the visions of the Prophets, we have the testimony of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, which is referred to by St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite in connection with the depiction of the Ancient of Days. He notes that in a Letter to the Church of Alexandria, the Seventh Ecumenical Synod "blesses those who know and accept, and hence depict and honor the visions and theophanies of the Prophets, as God imprinted these on their ruling faculty, and anathematizes those who do not accept the icons which show such visions, which took place before the Incarnation of God the Logos."²⁴

The fact that two of the divine hypostases, the Father and the Holy Spirit, are so little shown in icons, does not mean that we learn exceedingly little about them through icons. For as Damascene remarks, following St. Paul,²⁵ the Son is an icon or image (*eikon*) of the Father.²⁶ It follows that he who beholds icons of Christ learns about the Father, too. Damascene says: "In the Son we behold (*καθορῶμεν*) the Father."²⁷ Christ Himself tells the Pharisees: "If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also."²⁸ Damascene adds that just as the Son is an image of the Father, so also the Holy Spirit is an

24. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

25. Col. 1.15.

26. P.G. 94:1340A.

27. *Ibid.*, 1340B.

28. John 8.19.

image of the Son.²⁹ The three Persons differ, he notes, only in that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, and the Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορευτόν) from the Father.³⁰ Therefore, in contemplating in icons expressions of Christ's love for man, His mercifulness, His meekness, His almightiness, His glory, and so on, we are contemplating these as expressions also of the other two hypostases of God.

It should be added, further, that the icons of saints, too, give us knowledge of God, for man was created in the image and likeness of God, as we are told in the Book of Genesis. In fallen man, the image is present in a distorted form; but in the saints the image has been freed of the distortion, the saints having attained likeness to God through the virtues. And through adoption (θέσει) and participation (μεθέξει), they have become what God is by nature (φύσει).³¹ In icons, this is shown by the virtues which their facial expression, their postures and gestures exhibit,³² such as meekness, humility, purity, spiritual love and wisdom. Their participation in the divine life, in the divine energies, is indicated most strikingly by the halo, which symbolizes the uncreated energy of divine light. The saints have this in common with all the depictions of the God-Man Christ.

I have spoken so far of knowledge *about* God, both in the sense of learning about God, and in the sense of being reminded of what we have already learned about Him, becoming conscious of the knowledge pertaining to Him which we acquired in the past. Let us now turn to the question of how through iconography and hymnody we may gain *direct* knowledge of God, may experience God.

In the first place, knowledge *about* God has value as a means to direct, experiential knowledge of Him. Our knowledge about God guides us and strengthens us in the Christian way of life, which is what effects our regeneration leading to *theosis*, to union with God. One way in which icons and hymns are useful in this regard is by helping effect our purification (κάθαρσις). Christ said: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see

29. P.G. 94:1310A-B.

30. *Ibid.*, 1340B.

31. *Ibid.*, 1352A.

32. *Ibid.*, 1341C-D, 1344A.

God.” This teaching finds vivid expression in the hymnography of the Orthodox Church. Thus, the first troparion of the Easter Day Canon says:

Let us purify our senses, and we shall behold Christ shining exceedingly in the unapproachable light of the Resurrection.

By senses are meant both the physical and the spiritual senses: the rational faculty, the ‘heart,’ the imagination, and so on.

The Church Fathers have a great deal to say on this subject. They point out, among other things, the value of icons and hymns in this connection. Thus Damascene remarks that in a silent voice, icons teach those who behold them and sanctify their sight (*ὁρασις*).³³ Again, he says that by means of icons “we hear Christ’s words as through books, and our hearing is sanctified, and through it our soul.”³⁴

Icons effect our purification, our sanctification, by, on the one hand lifting us mentally to their prototypes—to God and His saints—and, on the other, by acting as channels of divine grace.

In connection with the first point, it should be noted that in order to have this effect, icons must be works of traditional, spiritual art, possessing a spiritual mode of expression, and not works of modernist, secular art, having only a religious theme but being secular in essence. Renaissance religious paintings, and in general religious paintings that seek to give us the illusion of material, three-dimensional reality, are of the latter sort. These lack the *anagogic* character of true icons, fail to lift us up to the spiritual realm and sanctify us. True holy icons lift us above the material world, above the fallen world of the ‘passions,’ through the use of divinely inspired forms and mystical colors. Thus, St. John of Damascus observes that icons are visible objects expressing things invisible and formless.³⁵ Scripture itself, he says, invests God and angels with forms (*τύποι*) that have a correspondence (*ἀναλογία*) to our nature, which is unable to rise to spiritual contemplations directly, but needs naturally adapted means of ascent (*οἱ κεῖται καὶ συμφνεῖς δ' ὁδηγοῦν*).³⁶

33. *Ibid.*, 1268A.

34. *Ibid.*, 1333D-1336A.

35. *Ibid.*, 1241A.

36. *Ibid.*, 1241A-B.

The true icon reveals hidden reality (ἐκφαντορικὴ τοῦ κρυφίου ἐστί').³⁷ It is a ladder by means of which we rise from the visible to the invisible, from the material to the spiritual realm. "Through sensible images," says Damascene, "we are lifted up (ἀναγόμεθα) to divine and immaterial contemplation (θεωρία)." ³⁸

With regard to hymnody, it should be remarked that hymns help cleanse our inward parts both by providing exhortation to practice various forms of spiritual discipline, such as repentance, fasting, general self-control and inner attention, and by being prayers addressed to God, the Theotokos and other Saints—prayer being, according to the Fathers, the most effective means of purification. Many of the hymns of the Orthodox Church, particularly those contained in the great liturgical book known as the *Triodion*, which is used during the Great Lent and the two weeks that precede it, are exhortations to strive for purification, and prayers asking that we be made pure. I quoted earlier a troparion which is an exhortation to us to purify our senses. I shall now quote two *idiomela*, one of which—the first—is a prayer of entreaty for purification of the body, and the other, a prayer of entreaty for purification of the soul. Both are from the *Triodion*, and are chanted at the Sunday orthros throughout the Great Lent period and the two weeks before it. They are as follows:

Open up the gates of repentance, O Life-giver; for my spirit cometh early in the morning to Thy holy temple, bringing the temple of my body altogether soiled; but being merciful, cleanse it by Thy compassionate mercy.

Make straight for me, O Theotokos, the paths of salvation; for I have defiled my soul with ugly sins, having spent all my life in spiritual indolence; by thine intercessions, free me of all impurity.

The next and final point I wish to discuss is the Orthodox view that icons and hymnody are direct channels of Divine grace, imparting to us experience or direct knowledge of God. That icons are such channels has been asserted by St. John

37. *Ibid.*, 1337B.

38. *Ibid.*, 1360C.

Damascene, St. Theodore the Studite, St. Maximos Kausokalyvites, and other Fathers. Damascene says: "The Saints, even while in this life, were full of the Holy Spirit; and after their death the grace of the Holy Spirit is inseparably present in their souls, in their bodies which lie in tombs, and in their holy icons—not according to its substance (*κατ' οὐσίαν*), but as grace and energy (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*)."³⁹ Theodore the Studite (759-826), similarly says that the Deity is present in the icon, not "by way of natural union, but by way of relative participation, the icon partaking of honor and grace."⁴⁰ Now since we know God the Father through Christ, and Christ in the Spirit, it follows that by appropriating grace via icons we come, by means of them, to know the Holy Trinity in an experiential way, if we are duly pure. Providing an illustration and confirmation of this Patristic teaching is the following story about the fourteenth century Athonite hermit Maximos Kausokalyvites. It appears in the *Philokalia* and in St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite's *New Eklogion*. St. Gregory the Sinaite, who was a great teacher of mental prayer, once visited St. Maximos on the Holy Mountain of Athos, and asked him if he practiced mental prayer. Maximos explained how from the time of his youth he had great faith in the All-Holy Virgin, and prayed fervently to her to give him the gift of mental prayer, and how his persistent prayer found response. He said:

One day, as I kissed with love her holy icon, I at once felt in my breast and in my heart a warmth and flame that came from the holy icon. It did not burn me, but refreshed and sweetened me, and brought to my heart great contrition. From that time on, my heart began to say within it the prayer, and my intellect to be sweetened by the remembrance of Jesus and the Theotokos, and to maintain always remembrance of them. Since that time, the prayer has not been absent from my heart.⁴¹

Upon being pressed by St. Gregory to tell him more about his experiences, St. Maximos described to him, as far as words could describe, the mystical vision which he experienced as he

39. *Ibid.*, 1249C-D.

40. *Ibid.*, 99:344B-C.

41. *Φιλοκαλία* 5 (1963), 104.

practiced mental prayer. His intellect (*νοῦς*), he says, was caught up to God, and was gained possession of entirely by the divine light, and had inexpressible contemplations.

Hymnody similarly helps man experience God. The Eastern Church Fathers teach that chanting liturgical hymns, or listening to them, in a state of inner wakefulness, paying close attention to what is chanted, quiets the passions of the soul and of the body—e.g. anger, hatred, despondency, lust—and helps repel them.⁴² Thus, hymnody is conducive to purity, which, as we have seen, is a condition for knowing God. They also teach that hymnody draws divine grace to us. St. John Chrysostom, for example, says: "Where there are spiritual melodies, there the grace of the Spirit comes, and sanctifies the mouth and the soul."⁴³ Similarly, St. Nikodemos says: "When you hear in the church sacred hymns being chanted, especially on holy days, grace operates (*ἐνεργεῖ*) within you, and produces spiritual joy and sweetness, as Athanasios the Great says."⁴⁴

In acquiring divine grace, man attains the true end of the Christian life, which is, as we said, *theosis*, union with God, direct knowledge or experience of Him, grace being a presence of God within us.

From what has been said about icons and hymnody, it is evident that these are important means of learning about God, remembering God, and knowing God. It should be added, that they are such in proportion as we use them with faith and piety, consciously and with understanding.

42. *Ibid.* 1 (1957), 338; 2 (1958), 339.

43. P.G. 55:157.

44. *Χρηστοθέα τῶν Χριστιανῶν* (Volos, 1957), p. 320.

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HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

LOOKING FORWARD

"Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only" (James 1.22).

The Theme of the present Clergy-Laity Congress—the 24th convened since the first Clergy-Laity Conference met in the City of New York in 1922—presents us with a formidable challenge and task. It echoes the words of Jesus, Who said: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven" (Mt. 7.21). These words resound even louder today when there is so much talk about religious revival, spiritual renewal, and charismatic rebirth.

Not only do they resound but they also cause such pronounced movement of mind and conscience that we are called to realize the magnitude of the sin which we commit when, despite hearing the words, we continue to live and to act as though we have never heard them. So we deceive ourselves, becoming liable to a double censure by our conscience and by God. This is what St. James certainly had in mind when he added the utterly condemning words to the verse of our Theme: "deceiving your own selves." For the couplet text is: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only . . . for if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass: for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was" (James 1.23-24). Furthermore, he defines the true Christian thusly: "Looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work"; this man, he concludes, "shall be blessed in his deed" (James 1.25). Bearing this in mind would be most beneficial if we really care to bequeath an image and an example of life which future generations would not simply emulate, but also identify with us.

Keynote Address delivered at the 24th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, July 1-8, 1978, Detroit, Michigan.

The 24th Clergy-Laity Congress—A Charter Congress

This Congress is not a mere continuation of past congresses. It is the Charter Congress. It is the Congress which initiates a new period of Church Life, the Congress that signals the end of the transition; from an immigrant status to a state of permanency; from a state of parochialism to the status of a national church, from a state of endless organizational processes, to a state of spiritual stabilization; from a state of centralization, to a state of decentralization; from a self-revolving status-quo, to an ever developing, ever searching and ever perfecting, far reaching ecclesiastical awareness.

And because I see it as a new beginning, I ask you to free yourselves from all other concerns and considerations, and concentrate all your attention and efforts on the spiritual and legislative mechanics that would prove the restructure of our Church administration, justifiable, workable, and conclusive.

In addition to being the Charter Congress, this Congress can also chart the course of our community life which we must follow from now on, so that frequently heretofore expressed wishes for concrete, Christian church polity of true consequence, may be fulfilled. However, no wish can come to fruition unless we join hearts and hands together, and in concert with each other, do all that is necessary for its realization. For I truly believe that no legislative or administrative structure can work profitably and effectively unless there is a collective effort of heart and conscience engaged in sincere labor.

Clergy and laity alike should cease and desist striving for authority. Rather, inner strength and power should be sought in order to overcome self-interest or self-projection, thereby placing ourselves at the service of God and His people. Contentions and contests may be human but in time they need to be eliminated by our renewed consciousness that "we should walk worthy of God" (1 Thess. 2.12).

Our coming to America was neither coincidental nor dictated by a sheer outcry for survival. Other countries more proximate to Greece at the turn of the century, such as Egypt, Russia, Romania, and even Asia Minor looked more promising than America; the first immigrants still surviving will attest to that fact. They will even tell us that their first years in the United States were more difficult and harder to bear, than their young years in Greece. It was persistence and perseverance which

enabled them to withstand the rejection, the deprivation, and the humiliation epitomizing their first experiences in America, and at last enabled them to succeed in taming fear and initial failure and avail themselves of the right to life.

It is God Who ordains human action and history, not fate or blind fortune. Orthodox Christians were led to these shores by the same God Who led the Pilgrims, and with the same purpose, i.e. to share their faith and tradition with other people who migrated earlier. And, as an end-result they formed what we proudly hail to be the home of the brave and the land of the free. The two great powers: freedom and bravery, come not from the mere wish to survive, but from Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, Who said: "be of good cheer; for I have conquered the world" (John 16.33).

What Is Our Mission and What Is the Task of the Restructured Church

So we came here, guided by the hand of God and His Spirit and Will to sow the earth and to plant deep within its bowels the seeds of a heritage that would gradually enrich the concept and the values of life. The mission assigned to us by the Provident Father in Heaven, therefore, is to humbly labor together with all American believers, so that His Kingdom, a Kingdom of love and justice may come, and that His Will, aimed at substituting error with truth and perdition with salvation, may be done on earth by all, as it is in heaven. This is the mission and the legacy with which we must gird ourselves anew so that we may carry it forward until physical and mental exhaustion returns us from whence we came. Any other understanding or interpretation of the mission ascribed by God to the Orthodox Christians in America, would be inadequate and falacious. It becomes incumbent upon all the Orthodox in this country, therefore, to rise above phyletism and self-righteousness, and discern the signs of our times and the writing on the wall.

We certainly can preserve our particular language and liturgical traditions, even our dependency upon Mother Churches, without losing sight of the mission of Orthodoxy, or the fact that this mission can be fulfilled when we decide to act in unison with one, obedient, and enlightened mind. Americanization or modernization of Orthodoxy will, in no way, turn Orthodoxy into the powerful spiritual force for which we all pray. Only humility, self-catharsis, prayer, and work will make it heard as a clear voice and seen as a dynamic reality. It is

with this conviction that I appeal to all Orthodox fellow communicants, to rediscover the beauty and the joy of fellowship, and their identity as hearers and doers of the word.

First and foremost I address this appeal to my fellow Greek Orthodox believers to whom Orthodoxy is either a birthright or a faith by choice. It does not profit us to boast about Orthodoxy for which we have done very little, if anything. "Other men labored, and we have entered into their labors" (John 4.38).

To raise the flag of conservatism or of an Orthodox puritanism in contrast with liberalism and ecumenism, at best, serves vain self-interest: certainly not Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, by its very nature, excludes no one from approaching and examining it. As in everything else, it follows Christ, its Founder, Who accepted to be touched and examined by a doubting disciple. Orthodoxy loses nothing by being interrogated, as Christ lost nothing of His dignity and deity, by being interrogated. Orthodoxy loses nothing by conversing with heretics or ecumenists, as Jesus lost nothing of His holiness and uniqueness when He spoke with the Samaritan woman, the Sadducees and Pharisees, or the Phoenicians, the Romans, and the Greeks. It was through these conversations and dialogues that Christ became known, appreciated, accepted, and proclaimed Son of God and Savior of the world.

Orthodoxy in America must study and understand itself. It must pray and come to a fuller knowledge of itself and its mission. It must be laid bare and project its spiritual radiance, so that "all who are in the house—the whole wide world may see and be enlightened" (Mt. 5.15). This in essence is the principal task of our Orthodox Church in the Americas; to rid itself of all self-righteousness, of all prejudices and become free of all situational and denominational complexes; to put on the whole armor of God and thus subdue those from within and without who dare to abuse her or exploit the good faith and will of the naive faithful.

The principal task of the Orthodox Church is to recapture its own image as an ecumenical church and, with full-force endeavor to recapture its genuine characteristics; i.e. enthusiasm, which enables it to live and move in God; its ability to evangelize, to preach, to convert, to baptize and to guide the thus Christianized people so that they may become men and women who

proudly identify themselves "as Christ's witnesses in the world" (Luke 24.48).

The task of the Orthodox Church is to unite, not to divide; to embrace, not to reject; to lead to repentance, not to condemn; to heal, not to wound; to bring solace, not despair; to preach the evangelical truth, not to hide it "under the bushel" (Mt. 5.15); to enrich spiritually, not to impoverish; to deliver the captives, not to deprive liberty; to turn time into a timeless spiritual experience, not to waste it; "to make it a time accepted [by God], a day of salvation" (2 Cor. 6.2).

This notion of its task liberates the Orthodox Church from all worldly preoccupations. It arms her with the ability to liberate her people from error and sin. It lends her the power to free herself from suspicion, from bias, from the tendency to anathematize. It leads her to close ranks between laymen and clergymen, and unites them to jointly combat her chief enemies: secularism and worldliness with all their inherent destructive forces. Finally it enables her to bring about that most desirable change of mind and attitude which transforms people into brothers and sisters, and into a loving rather than an antagonizing community of worshipers. In short, the task of the Church is to imbue its members with a new awareness; her task is their own task, as well.

The Restructure as a Restructure of the Mind and the Conscience of the Faithful

The restructure of the Archdiocese may prove to be the answer to many of the problems of the present and of the future if and when it is implemented by a restructure of the mind and religious consciousness of the people. It will avail to nothing or even lead us into undesirable complications and perplexities, if it fails to be felt, understood and accepted as a challenge and mandate to proceed with the restructure of the concept which the individual Christian holds regarding his place and role in the Church. The prevailing notion, gratifying and warming as it may initially be, is that the local church is exactly that: very local and very parochial. At times the parishioner becomes so personally involved that objectivity is lost and the church is reduced to a corporate entity; ruled by corporate laws or by-laws of a corporation, rather than by the laws and canons of Orthodox ecclesiology.

No one questions the rights of the City, the State, or the Nation, to have a word or to intervene when the charter issued and the by-laws prescribed are violated, or when parishes evidence sufficient cause that they become forgetful of their legal obligations. By the same token, however, we would also recognize that these same rights, although different in nature, belong to the Church as well. For the Archdiocese issues the ecclesiastical charter and promulgates the uniform rules and regulations that secure the life and provide the community with the ability to develop, organize and perfect the function of a Church Community. The Church, by virtue of being the Body of Christ, must care, and concern itself, and at times, intervene, as a moral, spiritual, and administrative authority—which it is—in the conduct of the affairs of the parish church, particularly in instances when the conduct is inappropriate. To deny to the Church these rights, would be tantamount to denying legitimate rights to the City, to the State, and to the Federal authorities: something which no parish ever does. Nevertheless, at times this right is denied to Church Authority on the grounds that the parish is a corporate entity, and as such should be run solely by corporate laws. It is regrettable that some of the parishioners do not realize that American Courts, when faced with issues related to civil and church laws, give priority to the canons by which a Hierarchical Church is governed.

It is the responsibility of the Church to call and recommend undivided attention to the undivided nature of the Church, as well as to the indivisible relationship between the Archdiocese and the parish church. It should be realized that in church affairs all authority belongs to God in Whose Name the parish is organized. It is God's name which is invoked at all instances; at the Divine Liturgy; at the oath-taking ceremony of a parish council; at the opening and at the close of its general assemblies; at meals; at the start and at the conclusion of a working day, and so forth. The commandment that no one should take the name of God in vain (Ex. 20.7), must be remembered at all times. We as Christians are not simply hearers, but also doers of the word. And those who choose to be hearers only, may deceive themselves, but not God. For God cannot be mocked (Gal. 6.7). Mindful Orthodox Christians can permit themselves neither self-deception, nor self-mockery.

Having come to such a full realization it should follow that

accomplish. The decentralization should be read as the centralization of a corporate effort to do better. What we used to blame on lack of communication, centralized, and absolute authority, now falls upon the diocesan communities, the parish and diocesan councils, the clergy and the laity. What we claim to desire: i.e. greater freedom, daring initiatives, imaginative thinking, visionary actions, and creative programs, now lies within our purview as a challenge and as a privilege. Complaints for non-existing freedom of action can and must be changed into new attitudes, for liberty and the right to autonomous actions is an earned right, of which we must prove ourselves more than worthy. The opportunity and the responsibility to make restructure work and produce, is ours. Remember, however, that no restructure can be good unless it is accompanied by the restructure of our own mind and deportment. I would conclude this part of my Keynote Address, by addressing myself to you in the following words borrowed from St. Peter's second general epistle: "And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience Godliness; and to Godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity" (2 Peter 1.5-7).

These are some of the basics of the emotional and intellectual restructure to which we are called as individuals and as parishes, by the administrative restructure of the Archdiocese. If we really want it to be effective in meeting the needs and resolving the problems, which cannot be easily or quickly resolved under the present structure, let us commit ourselves to the provisions of the new Charter and its by-laws.

The Problems To Be Resolved By The New Structure

One of the first problems requiring resolution by this Clergy-Laity Congress is one posed by the restructure itself. This problem can be articulated by asking: Do we need the restructure? Have we not functioned rather well under the present administrative system? Those concerned with the unity of the Church would answer the first question with an unqualified "no" and the second with an unqualified "yes," underscoring the unity which the Archdiocese presents and the image it has acquired. Those concerned with the growth of the Church and aspire for a greater and more active role in the affairs of the

better could happen in our lifetime than decentralization and local and regional autonomy that would enhance the unity, the strength, and the image of the Church.

The true answer can be found somewhere between these two positions. The restructure is needed for one very important reason: to accentuate our sense of responsibility in order to force us to accept a more prominent and responsible role in the conduct of our church community affairs. The new structure introduces sharing in both the authority and in the exercise thereof, through the Synodal system, the Diocesan Clergy-Laity Conferences, and the Diocesan Councils. It establishes the principle of collegiality in a most challenging way. And while the new structure offers authority and responsibility, it also helps us to assume a more creative role in promoting a better understanding of Orthodox ecclesiology which assures a smoother, more prudent and more effective administration. Further, it helps create a climate that would favor Orthodox spirituality, thereby preventing secularism, fractionalism, and materialism from taking complete hold of the mind of the parishioners. Finally, it enables us to cope with all situations, on a local level—i.e. social, civic, and political—and develop vitally needed new patterns and norms so essential for a direct confrontation with problems of a moral and ethical nature. This would contribute, as nothing else would, to the growth and expansion of the Orthodox Faith and Tradition.

A second problem which must be resolved while we are meeting here is the problem arising from a difference of opinion regarding a proper understanding of the priorities of the Church Community. For a priest, the highest priority is the spiritual and ethical well-being of the parish, whereas laymen charged with church administration tend to place high priority on finances. Parish councils and priests are expected to cooperate and jointly serve the needs of their community, placing the highest priority on the unity and spiritual prosperity of the parish.

St. Peter's admonition to the Christians of his time still holds true, particularly for those lay and spiritual leaders whose moral and intellectual responsibilities lie beyond the realm of maintaining a status-quo.

A third problem to be resolved while we deliberate the subject of the restructure, is related to the ecclesiological and

theological understanding of the local church and that of the national church whether it be on the diocesan level or on the Archdiocesan level. For what we all serve is the Church, and through it, the community, in just that order.

Clergy and laity alike are members of the Church—the Body of Christ. It is through Christ and His Church that we find our identity. We can have only one identity! We belong to God— to nobody else. We are “co-workers with God” (1 Cor. 3.9); our work is God’s work, which is to care for His chief creation—men and women—and the world in which they live today. To all we owe love and respect. Only when we give love and respect do we receive both. Our church communities cannot function in any other way, for it is a give-and-take proposition. You receive nothing, if you give nothing; and you receive much, if you give much.

This means that our concept of the parish could stand correction. Parish is a Greek word meaning: “paroikia” or neighborhood. Are we neighbors really and truly caring for one another? Are we in any way “a peculiar people; a chosen generation, a royal priesthood; a holy nation?” (1 Peter 2.9). It is ours to be; to become so. Can we restructure ourselves to derive our inspiration and strength from God, His scriptures and from prayer? Can we learn and understand beyond any shadow of a doubt, that the world is ours to conquer, not to be conquered by it?

Priests, parish councils and members of our church communities—all of us—need to become re-acquainted with the word of God. We need to be readers, hearers, and doers of the word. Unless we seriously take this primary responsibility upon ourselves, I fear that we shall continue to request legal advice and interpretation of the new Charter and its by-laws, instead of effecting it and making it workable, thereby creating the beginning of a new era. For this reason I reiterate; priests and laity are “co-workers” with God. We do His work which is to care for and to serve His people. Only when we act in this spirit may we meet their moral, intellectual, spiritual, and emotional expectations. And to these expectations we can respond, when we are guided by the spirit of God; not through social events but through a real Christian, personal commitment, through loving care and through the correct understanding of our task.

Another problem, which I am afraid will be with us for a long time is whether or not we can cope with our ever-changing society which, under the influence of new scientific findings and the impact of the so-called situational ethics and "new morality," puts to test the values and principles which we profess to believe. Are we to yield and abandon them thereby accepting the new situation, or are we fortified with such knowledge and experience so as to resist and fight? To be more clear and precise, I refer to the intellectual, moral, and social problems which surround us, pressing our minds and our hearts for answers, while forcing us to judge for ourselves whether or not we are truly victims of antedated, anachronistic, and obsolete beliefs, or the defenders of the changeless values of Christianity against attempts by modern quasi-ethics to unseat spirituality and moral sensitivity from the place they have occupied for centuries as the molders of our ethos and the fashioners of human behavior.

The problems of today, as we all know, range: from the materialistic and technological or physiological concept of life, to its mystical and extra-sensory perception; from a theory which would reduce or eliminate child birth through the legalization of contraceptives and abortions—born from a concern for mankind as a result of the population explosion, to a noble and lofty interest in ecology which concerns itself with the preservation of even the lowest form of animal and vegetable life; from the equal rights amendment, to sexual and child abuse; from the beautiful goals of UNICEF and Youth Year, to child prostitution; from scientific research to prolong human life, to street and park and subway crime; from an effort to modernize and perfect education, to the license to protect the rights of those who have made obscenity and pornography a lucrative industry; from an effort to strengthen the arm of the judiciary, to its abolishment as cruel and inhuman; from the declaration that all men are created equal and free, to the defense of those who have no regard for human rights and dignity or freedom; finally, from the belief that violators of the law should be censured, impeached and severely punished, to the practice of clemency which returns evil-doers to society, particularly the rapists, the burglars, the drug peddlers, and the killers.

The problem of how to meet and resolve these which are problems of inconsistency, contradiction, and antinomy between words and deeds and between conscience and actual

behavior—will have to stay with us until the day when American Christians wake up, realize their impotence and find their way back to the never-exhausted well-spring of an ever-new and refreshing spiritual power, i.e. God and His Will and word, as it is recorded in the Bible and in the annals of Christian, Greek, and American history and experience. Those who claim that the clock cannot be turned back would do well to take a good, long hard look at the appearance of modern men and women and to their situational ethics, as attested to by their moral license, their lust, their greed, and their lack of respect for human life, property, honor, and welfare. Because of the history of their Church, Orthodox believers should not allow themselves self-acquittal and by the same token, condemn someone else, whether it be society or those at the service of mankind, i.e. educators, clergy, politicians, or civic leaders. A similar reaction to the problems would indict us as doers of a double injustice, both to ourselves as well as to others. For God has endowed all and deprived none of logic, judgment, and the ability to self-examine and self-control. Furthermore, God gave to His people a Charter, the value of which cannot be challenged, i.e. the Bible—that book of human aspiration and inspiration and prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors from whom to choose their example for emulation and perfection.

Orthodox believers who find themselves confronted with such perplexing and unresolved problems, should exercise more prudence and show greater maturity. If instead of groaning and moaning for the alleged indifference that God, Church, and Society display, they should choose to search and find within their minds and souls the ability to better understand these problems.

For I believe and together with you, that the compassionate understanding and the proper approach of a problem leads, as nothing else does, to its solution. Such an approach, besides helping a given problematic situation, would uplift our soul and spirit and change our agony into ecstasy, and our worries into true rejoicing.

The Restructure and Inter-Church Relations

The restructure initiates and establishes a number of dioceses, all united into one, indivisible Archdiocese. They are united by virtue of the same administrative rules and regulations, the same programs for education, youth, and finance, and an identical

Church ethos, polity, and policy with respect to inter-church relations.

On the basis of the by-laws of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) and the ecumenical guidelines of its Ecumenical Commission, already submitted to the Ecumenical Patriarchate for study and ratification, the restructured Archdiocese will expand and systematize its inter-church relations.

The Synod of Bishops will see to it that inter-church and inter-communal relations receive the pre-eminence they deserve. It will examine the present status of these relations and appoint a joint committee to study, review, correct, and eventually standardize the existing ecumenical guidelines. And in all cases, it will faithfully follow the inter-church relations policy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as ordained in Article 2 of the new Charter which says: "As to its ecumenical activities, both inter-Christian and inter-religious, the Archdiocese shall follow the position and guidelines established by the Ecumenical Patriarchate."

It will be open and receptive to any discussion that would forge a strong link of fraternal love and unity among the Orthodox Dioceses in America and will preclude no one desiring to enter into a special, canonical relationship with the Archdiocese, as is the case with the Ukrainian and Russian Dioceses. It will encourage initiatives for more substantive unity, but will show no eagerness to receive Orthodox or non-Orthodox groups having little, if any, regard for canonicity. It will pray for, and respond to, overtures from Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups so long as they feel the unutterable groanings of the Spirit, Who "Maketh intercessions for us" (Rom. 8.26). The restructured Archdiocese and its Synod believe that no Mother Church will ever hinder a sincere wish or action for a closer rapprochement of the divided Christians and their churches. With the same strength of conviction it believes that obedience, loyalty, and attachment to a Mother Church makes it more imperative for us to take the initiative for resolving, in a canonical and acceptable way, the problem of Diaspora.

The Orthodox believers in the Western Hemisphere belong together and together they must endeavor to make the presence and witness of their Church visible and tangible. All Orthodox are faced with the same problematic situations, even within their own family and jurisdiction. We need one another, for

comfort, consultation, and even consolidation of our already existing unity in Faith and Tradition.

The Orthodox believers would do well to avail themselves of the opportunity to know one another in a better way, to analyze and discuss jurisdictional, canonical, and moral problems common to all, and to form such study committees which would report their findings as to how a greater solidarity and unity among Orthodox in America could be effectuated.

In addition we must also concern ourselves with our Orthodox brothers throughout the world, and do all we can to assist them in their fight against inhumanity, oppression, and persecution. If our vision is still clear and not irreparably blurred by materialism, let us lift our eyes in search of what God wills for us. I am sure that He wills nothing as much as a spiritual sensitivity, which will enable us to see that "we are encompassed about with so great a cloud of martyrs" appealing to us to "lay aside every weight, and the sins which do so easily beset us, and run the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and the Finisher of our Faith" (Heb. 12.1-2).

We may not be as numerous or as resourceful as other Christians. Nevertheless, we can certainly promote and elevate Orthodoxy if we become more active and truly involved in the ecumenical effort of the Church, i.e. to bring about a better and more just and humane order in the world. It is high time that we disengage ourselves from the countless tiring, petty preoccupations and engage ourselves in a concerted effort in order to recapture, in a meaningful way, both the unity and the mission of Orthodoxy in the present day world.

The Synod of Bishops will encourage all such encounters among the Orthodox jurisdictions that would stimulate the ambition and a new sense of responsibility in reordering and rearranging Orthodox ecumenical priorities in such a way as to give pre-eminence to the consultation with the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, whose theology and tradition is much closer to ours, and with whom there is a stronger hope for rapprochement. To the false alarm of the fearful that Orthodoxy endangers itself if it becomes involved in ecumenical activity, history replies that Orthodoxy is endangered only if it isolates itself.

It will also solicit the cooperation of all Orthodox jurisdictions in a much needed survey and study of the possibilities which exist for a united, consonant, and dynamic reaction

to the problems that challenge Christianity as a whole. Our Synod will underscore the obligations that World Orthodoxy must be awakened to present-day realities and committedly assume the responsibility to rekindle its own conscience as well as the dormant conscience of all Christians. For we believe that apathy and neglect in this respect, allows false illusions, self-deception, self-seclusion, division and erosion of sensitivity, all of which inevitably lead to the erosion of Faith.

Christians of all disciplines should have learned by this time that the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire upon the Disciples on the Feast of Pentecost, introduced something totally new: i.e. that all languages and dialects must be used for only one purpose: to teach and to proclaim one God, one faith, one baptism, one community, and one world. We have been hearing this heartwarming statement for centuries. Would it be possible for us to realize, even once, the tragedy of our self-deception?

The Restructured Archdiocese Looks Ahead

The experience gained from one hundred and some odd years of struggling for survival—which were years of hopes and frustrations, of unceasing efforts and anxiety, of dreams and nightmares, of aspirations and exasperations—can be a great source of encouragement and fortitude as we embark upon the future. Being what we are—sons and daughters and grandsons and granddaughters of immigrants—and still dreamers, we can not afford to lose sight of challenges presented to us, the first of which is to withstand all adversities and even failures that we may encounter. Our second challenge is to ever strive to fulfill the admirable example set before us by our parents, whose conduct, deportment, and achievements were inspired and guided by their sense of God and history.

Having solidly established themselves on American soil, after much labor and toil, they formed families, businesses, churches, and primary schools, all in full communion of mind and heart. They developed a new mentality and thus determined their loyalties, i.e. first to God and then to their new Country. This knowledge and awareness should generate in our hearts and in the hearts of the generations to come, a deeper appreciation of the first immigrants and their accomplishments. In their lumi-

nous shadows we are gathered here to plan our church future.

We are committed, as they were, first and foremost to God and to Country. Commitment to God acquires true meaningfulness if we live, move, grow, and mature in His Church, in close communion with Him and with the Sacraments of the church. Living in God through private and corporate prayer and a full sharing in the life of the church is not the easiest thing. For it requires obedience to His word, full submission of our will to His Will and such conduct and deeds that proclaim and assert and express our faith in Him. Living and sharing in the life of the Church requires that we accept the course of life it sets for us, that we make it our primary concern, that we support its work in the fields of education and charity, and that we seek and find our true identity therein.

I know when I say these things I may be thought of as a dreamer, rather than a practical man. But I also know that my first task is to give a true definition of what I mean when I say that our first commitment is to God and Country. The commitment to God, I believe I have defined.

Now I will attempt to define the meaning of our commitment to Country. A country is comprised of human beings and governed by a set of laws that provide for justice, social order, equal opportunities, and the privilege to identify oneself as its citizen. Commitment to Country means love and devotion, compliance with its laws; a willingness to respond to its needs; to fulfill expected obligations; to be concerned with its problems; to do everything that would contribute to its spiritual, moral, political, and social welfare. Thus we can give substance to our commitment to God and to Country.

It follows then that some more thinking on this double commitment could help us tremendously. For we are committed, as were our parents, to the family in both its narrow and broad sense, i.e. our personal family and our parish or community. Commitment to family means and demands respect for the family institution, for its sacredness, for its Christian concept, and for its unity and well-being. Commitment to family means caring for one another, i.e. husband and wife for each other and jointly caring for their children. Commitment to community means something far greater than paying dues. It means that all have identical dreams and ideas, goals and pursuits, that we

belong to one another, sharing in the rejoicing, but in the suffering as well, living exemplary Christian lives and thus projecting the beauty and transforming power of the Church.

These two commitments—to God and Country, and to Family and Community—commit us to an ever, ongoing, spiritual and moral restructure of our religious life, inasmuch as new ideas, theories, philosophies and even religions or cults have, in some measure, weakened and confused our faith. This would never have happened if we truly believed in Christ, the Savior, as we have been taught by our Orthodox Church. For the Orthodox religion never ceases to remind its followers that the uniqueness of Orthodox Christianity is that it believes in the continuous refreshment and renewal of the mind and of the soul within the Church and under the guidance of the Clergy. Other Christians, acting in good faith, may emphasize charismatic renewal as the answer to the “dormant faith,” but we Orthodox believe in repentance which leads to renewal; to the renewal that the frequent union with Christ and Communion from His Cup brings to the believer. It is only in Christ that our life can be renewed and sanctified.

The Orthodox believer always hears the resounding voice of St. Paul—that admirable example of pragmatic renewal—who makes the following three declarations:

“Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind” (Rom. 12.2).

“Be ye changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord” (2 Cor. 3.18).

“If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature” (2 Cor. 5.17).

These three commitments, commit us to the task of sustaining and expanding the Church. They commission us to the mission of the Church. They commit us to the support and expansion of the work of the Church; to the advancement of the cause of Orthodoxy; to the furtherance of Christian unity; the cultivation and promotion of spirituality; to the initiation of services that would facilitate the progress we all wish to see as we march forward.

These three commitments, commit us to increased Christian

social action wherever and whenever the trumpet calls us, be it Constantinople, Greece, Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, the Arab countries, Rhodesia, South Africa, or Eastern Europe; to protest unwise or harmful use of authority; to protect those who suffer because of it; and to rally all our moral and spiritual forces to the defense of their rights.

These three commitments, commit us to vigilance and alertness, to vigorously react to all insidious influences that menace the very structure of our family and creep deeper and deeper into the strata of our American society, threatening to cripple all our cherished values and institutions.

These three commitments, commit us to search deep in our souls for God's promise of peace on earth, good will among men, and find the power to dedicate ourselves anew to the cause of peace, which continues to be the quest of humanity and the dream unfulfilled, of all those who cry for justice and equality.

These three commitments commit us to an ever renewing steadfastness and perseverance: to a resolute resistance to everything which is evil, unholy, and alien to Christian life; and to laborious and inventive efforts which will keep fraudulent and deceptive actions, such as intellectual dishonesty and political machinations at a distance from the life of our community and from the world community as well.

Finally, these three commitments, commit us to always look ahead, to pave the way for the young, to carefully re-examine the past, the present, and the future, in this sequence, both as notions and realities that may mold the ecclesiastical and political ethos of the Homogeneia, and jointly chart in the spirit of Orthodoxy, the orbit which Church and Society should follow in the race to conquer fear and disbelief.

May God bless us and guide us in giving full realization to the theme of our Congress which is to be "doers of the word and not hearers only." For I wish you to be happy. And we can be happy—each and every one of us—so long as we are doers of the word. Blessedness is the reward of all who "hear the word of God and keep it" (Luke 11.28). This blessedness you deserve—all of you my dearly beloved fellow communicants. For having heard the word you came here to restructure our church administration and together with it, our church-mindedness and

our whole Orthodox Christian ethos. “My beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord” (1 Cor. 15.58).

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Manaphes' book constitutes the first attempt undertaken by a Greek scholar on the subject. It is mainly a historical and a grammatological study. Matters related to each library, such as name, establishment, development, location, directors, and materials included in them are scrupulously studied. One can also find many interesting data on institutions and persons who are in constant touch with the libraries, i.e., the Byzantine empire and emperors, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the scriptoria, the churches, the monasteries, and the patriarchal academy.

The major part of the work deals with the study of the patriarchal library from its preparation, 324-610 A.D., through its grandeur, 610-1204 A.D., to its upheaval and fall, 1204-1453 A.D.

Strictly speaking, the book comes to an end with the fall of Constantinople (1453), but hints are given for the existence of one patriarchal library beyond that date. On the other hand, beginning with the nineteenth century, we usually speak of the existence of two patriarchal libraries: the first in the patriarchate, Phanar, Istanbul, Turkey, and the second in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, Halki, the same city. A need now exists for the preparation of a book dealing with the patriarchal libraries and archives during the periods of the Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic (1453-present).

Vasil T. Istavridis

Memoirs. By Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft. London: SCM Press Ltd.; 1973. Pp. x + 379, with plates.

In 1973 Dr. Visser't Hooft's *Memoirs* appeared in English in England and in the United States. These *Memoirs* have been also published in other languages: Dutch, 1971; German, 1972, and French, 1975 as well. I prepared the Greek translation of two chapters, "Discovery of the Eastern Orthodox World," and "The Impact of Eastern Orthodoxy," as well as the rest of the material dealing with Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement for publication in the periodical *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* of Alexandria Addis Ababa.

The author draws from his private and other persons' recollections and written material, such as his diaries, his speeches, his correspondence, his reports, articles, and books. Dr. Visser't Hooft writes:

For my main interest in writing it has been to repay a part of my debt to the ecumenical movement . . .

This book is therefore not another history of the ecumenical movement, but an account of the experiences of a man who had the exceptional privilege of being involved in ecumenical life for fifty years (p. ix).

The story starts from 1900 and ends seventy years later. It mainly follows the chronological order, with a particular stress on specific issues.

Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft was born in Haarlem, Holland the year 1900. He attended grammar school and classical gymnasium, with a particular stress on the knowledge of the five languages: Latin, Greek, French, German, and English. In the years 1918 - 1923/4 he studied theology in the University of Leiden. He met Jetty Roddaert, whom he married in 1924, and with whom he spent a happy life until her death in 1968. He became an active member of the SCM. In 1924 he got an appointment on the staff of the World's Committee of YMCA's, Geneva, Switzerland. One year later he attended the World Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm, Sweden, and since then he has been participating in all major ecumenical meetings. In 1928 he received the Doctor of Theology degree from the University of Leiden and was also appointed a secretary in the WSCF, becoming its General Secretary the year 1932. In 1936 he was ordained a pastor in Geneva. From 1938/1948 - 1966 he served as the first General Secretary of the WCC, Utrecht/Geneva. Since Uppsala (1968) he has been an Honorary President of the WCC.

Dr. Visser't Hooft, coming from the Arminian - Calvinistic tradition of Holland, was under the influence of Barthian theology. Yet he is well versed on the rest of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox theologies. He always tried to understand the theological thought and the ideologies of others. He is one of the founding fathers and supporters of the present-day irenic-ecumenical theology.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Eglises et Etat en Turquie et au Proche-Orient (recueil d'articles). By Livio Amedeo Missir. Brussels; 1973. Pp. 163.

Rome et les Eglises d'Orient, vues par un Latin d'Orient (recueil d'articles et de croquis). By Livio Amedeo Missir. Brussels: La Pensée Universelle, 1976. Pp. 206.

Livio Amedeo Missir, a Roman Catholic from Izmir, Turkey, holds a Doctor of Law degree and is presently serving on the European Council in Brussels, Belgium. In his works he deals with subjects related to the existence of Christianity in Turkey and in the whole area of the Middle East, mainly from the point of civil and canon law and state-Church relations.

The first book under the title *Churches and State in Turkey and in the Near East* is, as the title indicates, a collection of articles, along with book notes and book reviews, which have appeared in several collective works, periodicals and newspapers, presented here under a logical plan. Languages used are French, Italian, and Spanish.

From the political point of view, the states being studied here are mainly the Ottoman empire, some Latin states in the West during the existence of the Ottoman empire, and the states which have been formed after the fall of this empire in the whole area of the Near and Middle East.

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'MIXED' MARRIAGES AND THE CANONICAL TRADITION OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The phenomenon of an ever-increasing number of 'mixed' marriages between Orthodox and other Christians poses a particularly serious problem to us today. On the one hand, a homogeneous marriage is correctly seen as the ideal relationship facilitating mutual growth of the spouses in Christ. On the other hand, existentially seen, current statistics in the United States reveal fewer marital breakdowns in heterogeneous marriages. This does not mean that the Orthodox Church should now promote 'mixed' marriages. Rather it points to an inadequacy in impressing upon those who enter into a homogeneous marriage the significance of their commitment.

As Orthodox we must first ask ourselves the following question: what makes a marriage truly Christian? The only response possible is that transformation of one's life in the reality of the kingdom, within the bonds of matrimony, presupposes the sharing of this reality with one committed to the same faith. This is the painful fact of our witness to such proposals as 'mixed' marriages. We might ask further: is it possible to share and become 'one body' in Christ if commitment to the same faith is not present? The fullest expression of such unity is participation in the mystery of the Eucharist. Through this act the two people united in marriage share and taste of God's Kingdom. The mystery of the Eucharist is the ultimate expression of our union with Christ. It is what makes the two people united in marriage members of the Body of Christ. It is what gives to marriage its specifically Christian character. In other words, it is in the Eucharist that marriage finds its fulfillment.

It is because of the central place of the Eucharist in the life of the faithful that a 'mixed' marriage immediately creates a problem. This is due to the fact that participation in the sacrament is exclusive, in the sense that non-Orthodox are not and can not be admitted to communion. The reason is apparent,

when one considers that participation in the Eucharist signifies oneness of faith. In the early Church when marriages were normally blessed during the course of the Eucharist, marriage under these circumstances between an Orthodox and a non-Orthodox Christian was unheard of. It was not until the marriage ceremony was removed from the central act of worship—the Eucharist—that the term ‘mixed’ marriage acquired meaning.¹

This brings us to a basic question regarding the real possibility of marriage between Orthodox and other Christians. Are such marriages possible, and if so, under what conditions? Unity of faith has always been a precondition to any marriage which takes place in the Orthodox Church. How, then, does one explain the phenomenon of an ever-increasing number of ‘mixed’ marriages between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians? How should the Orthodox Church respond to this reality?

The Canonical Tradition Regarding ‘Mixed’ Marriages

Canons regulating the marriage of an Orthodox to a non-Orthodox Christian are 10 and 31 of Laodicea, 21 of Carthage, 14 of Chalcedon, and the normative 72nd canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Quinisext). All of these canons forbid ‘mixed’ marriages. Canon 72 of the Sixth Ecumenical Council is unequivocal in its prohibition of marriage between an Orthodox and a non-Orthodox Christian. Accordingly “An orthodox man is not permitted to marry an heretical woman, nor an orthodox woman to be joined to an heretical man.”²

Not only did the above canon prohibit a ‘mixed’ marriage, but it also insisted upon its dissolution in the event such a marriage had nonetheless taken place. Violators of this ordinance were susceptible to excommunication. The only exception recognized by the canon was that of a pre-existing mar-

1. John Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood, New York, 1970), p. 39.

2. Henry R. Percival, ed., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Second Series (Grand Rapids, 1956), 14, 397.

riage, where either of the spouses had subsequently espoused the Orthodox faith. This was in keeping with the teaching of St. Paul in 1 Cor. 7:12-14.

It remains now to consider whether the exact application (*kat' akriveian*) of this canon pertains only to those non-Orthodox Christians subscribing to heresies existing at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, or beyond as well. Elsewhere, in canon 95 of this same council, distinctions were made in order to determine how each former heretic was to be received into the Orthodox Church. This is not the case, however, with the canon under examination. Furthermore, there is nothing in its wording that reveals a disposition to limit the heresies only to those existing at the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. On the contrary, both the general tone of the canon as well as its clarification of the reason for the prohibition suggest quite the opposite. The reason cited by the canon is that "it is not fitting to mingle together what should not be mingled, nor is it right that the sheep be joined with the wolf, nor the lot of sinners with the portion of Christ."³ It is obvious, therefore, that since the reason for the prohibition is the religious homogeneity of the family, as well as the protection of the 'sheep' from the 'wolves' and 'lot of sinners,' there can be no doubt as to the intention of the canon to include all heresies, at all times.⁴

The extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of imposing so rigid a practice later led many Orthodox canonists to distinguish between heretics and schismatics in their attempt to justify the many 'mixed' marriages which had actually taken place since the adoption of the above canon. According to their interpretation, schismatics would not be included in the general prohibition of canon 72 of Quinisext.

In conjunction with the distinction between heretics and schismatics in determining the permissibility of marriage between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians, it is interesting to note the following discrepancy. In enumerating those with whom the sons of clerics may not be joined in

3. Ibid.

4. Hieronymos Kotsonis, *He kanonike apopsis peri tes epikoinonias meta ton heterodokson* (*Intercommunio*) (Athens, 1957), p. 224.

marriage, canon 12 of Hippo (393) makes mention of gentiles, heretics, and schismatics. The Greek rendition of this canon minus the word 'schismatics' appears as canon 21 of Carthage (419). This no doubt eased the conscience of the Eastern Church in reluctantly granting permission for the marriage of an Orthodox Christian with a schismatic. It also prevented greater harm from occurring than would otherwise have been the case had a totally intransigent stand been taken.⁵

With the exception of the above instance of leniency regarding marriage with schismatics, the Orthodox Church refrained from issuing any decree which deviated from the rigid authority of canon 72 of Quinisext. In fact, leniency in the form of economy (*oikonomia*) was not exercised in this matter until much later. Abundant examples reflecting the austerity of this canon have been cited from the time of its adoption up to the last century.⁶

Ample testimony exists regarding the Orthodox Church's attitude towards the marriage of an Orthodox Christian with a schismatic. While hardly encouraging such a marriage, it was felt that, by accepting its validity, an unnecessary obstacle to the possible incorporation of the separated member into the unity of the Church would thereby be eliminated.⁷ Consequently, such a marriage ought ideally to be avoided; however, should this prove impossible, every effort ought to be exhausted to effect the incorporation of the separated member into the unity of the Church. Otherwise, a declaration was required before the marriage would be sanctioned to the effect that: a) no obstacle would be posed to the preservation of the Orthodox faith of the family; b) all children born of the marriage would be baptized in the Orthodox Church and raised according to its teachings.⁸ The opinions of most Orthodox canonists, as well as the age-long practice of the Eastern Church, is in harmony with the above.

5. Jos. Zhishman, *To dikaion tou gamou*, trans. M. Apostolopoulos, (Athens, 1913), 2, pp. 298-99.

6. Kotsonis, pp. 225-28.

7. See sources in Zhishman, *To dikaion*, p. 299, n. 3.

8. Nikodemos Milasch, *To ekklesiastikon dikaion tes orthodoxou anatolikes Ekklesias*, trans. M. Apostolopoulos (Athens, 1906), p. 918.

Noteworthy is the fact that in spite of the Great Schism of 1054, marriages between Eastern and Western Christians still continued to take place, with the same frequency as before. There was no reason to justify the prohibition of these marriages as long as the legislation regulating them continued to be the same as before the Schism. Furthermore, the Eastern Church lacked a canon expressly forbidding marriages between Eastern and Western Christians. Such legislation would not only have been harmful but also impossible to uphold, in view of the socio-political relations which continued to exist between East and West even after the Schism.

Relations between the Greek East and the Latin West began a steady deterioration, however, following the Latin conquest of Constantinople (1024). Evidence of the growing hostility towards Western Christendom is reflected in numerous polemical writings dating from this period.⁹ In the mid-fourteenth century the teaching of the Western Church was characterized as spurious. By the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, it was openly referred to as heretical. This progressive deterioration is also to be found in the way Western Christians were received into the Orthodox Church during this period. One extant service for the entry of a Western Christian into the Orthodox Church dating from the late fifteenth century calls for the sacrament of Holy Chrismation and a writ of renunciation. A later patriarchal decree dating from the year 1756 calls for the sacrament of Holy Baptism.¹⁰ Such austerity had been prevalent earlier in Russia. It has long since been abandoned throughout the entire Orthodox Church, however.

Returning to the question concerning the permissibility of marriage between Eastern and Western Christians, it must be admitted that this issue has not been studied systematically and in depth by Orthodox canonists. Consequently, their opinions vary, depending upon the relationship existing between the Eastern and Western Churches at the time when they were writing. Generally speaking, they have always considered such marriages permissible and valid providing conditions set by the Orthodox Church have been met.

9. Zhishman, *To dikaion*, pp. 305-06.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-07.

Indeed, numerous cases of marriage between Greeks and Latins can be cited in which both secular and ecclesiastical authorities granted approval.¹¹ As in the case of Western Christians desirous of entering the Orthodox Church, the Russian Church again maintained a more rigid policy than the Church of Constantinople. Accordingly, even the secular rulers of the Russian Empire were urged by the Church to prevent their children from marrying Latins. Nevertheless, the more tolerant practice of Constantinople eventually prevailed.

The hostility of the Eastern Church towards the West since the fall of Constantinople was often reflected in the legislation of those states where Orthodox populations were predominant. The application of ecclesiastical law pertaining to 'mixed' marriages was, therefore, influenced to a great degree by the prevailing negative sentiments. In the Ottoman Empire for example, where the Patriarchate of Constantinople was accorded the authority to regulate religious affairs for Orthodox Christians, the patriarchal decree of 1756 labelling all Western Christians heretics determined for a time its policy regarding marriages between Eastern and Western Christians. The Church in this instance based its practice upon the canons barring marriages with heretics.

In Serbia a law issued by the secular authority in 1853 required that marriages between Orthodox and Western Christians be blessed by an Orthodox priest. It required further that children born of these marriages be baptized and instructed in the Orthodox faith. This is of interest due to the fact that secular law here maintained the law of the Church.

Since the independence of Greece from Turkey, 'mixed' marriages often took place in the newly formed kingdom without their ecclesiastical status being determined by law. (It is interesting to note that 'mixed' marriages were always performed and recognized as valid by the Orthodox Church in the Ionian Isles. This area traditionally had closer ties with Western Europe than did other parts of the Greek world.) Meeting with some opposition from the Church, which felt

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-18.

its rights infringed upon, the Greek state eventually promulgated legislation permitting 'mixed' marriages. Today this issue has been resolved by Article 1367 of the Greek Civil Code, which recognizes the validity of 'mixed' marriages only when blessed by an Orthodox priest.¹²

In Russia 'mixed' marriages were permitted by an edict of Peter the Great dating from the year 1719. The granting of permission, however, was again dependent upon the written promise that children born of these marriages would be baptized and instructed in the Orthodox faith.

Although tendencies towards the exercise of leniency were evident quite early, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the first visible signs of the Church's changing attitude appeared.¹³ In the form of decrees issued by an ecclesiastical authority, 'mixed' marriages were permitted through the exercise of 'economy.' Each decree was issued in isolation, so as not to establish precedent. Characteristic of the reservation with which the first decrees were issued was the decision of the Holy Synod of Constantinople from the year 1878. It stated that the Church did not approve of 'mixed' marriages, but condescended to their taking place 'quietly' in order to prevent unfortunate consequences from occurring.¹⁴ One year later, the word 'quietly' was dropped from the text, and it was affirmed that such marriages would be permitted providing they were blessed by a canonical Orthodox priest.

Another significant step in the progressively more lenient attitude of the Church of Constantinople towards 'mixed' marriages was taken at the end of the last century. It constituted the transfer of the prerogative to exercise 'economy' in 'mixed' marriages from the Holy Synod to the local bishop. According to related decisions, ideally the non-Orthodox partner should be urged to espouse the Orthodox faith; otherwise, he or she must sign a written statement that children born of the marriage would be baptized into the Orthodox faith.¹⁵

12. Kotsonis, p. 233.

13. For their enumeration, see Kotsonis, pp. 229-33.

14. Michael Theotokas, *Nomologia tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiou* (Constantinople, 1897), p. 358.

15. Ibid.

It was subsequently decided that permission for a 'mixed' marriage need not be issued formally, but rather according to the pastoral discretion of the local bishop. The significance of this decision is evident. Not only was the local bishop given complete freedom to exercise 'economy' in 'mixed' marriages, but also this prerogative was now given canonical status by a decree of the Holy Synod. It is true that the decree was binding only within the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople. However, it is also true that decisions made by the Holy Synod of the Church of Constantinople have often influenced other Orthodox jurisdictions to act similarly. Such has been the case with the issue of 'mixed' marriages.

Observations Regarding Canonical Legislation

The following important conclusions can be drawn from that which has been said thus far: 'mixed' marriages were originally permitted in isolated cases by means of the concept of 'economy,' as of the last century, however, they were also approved by canonical decrees.

At this point, it is necessary to call attention to an important fact about the canonical legislation of the Orthodox Church. The final word on canonical legislation adopted for the universal Church is the Ecumenical Council. According to Orthodox reckoning, the last Ecumenical Council was the Second Council of Nicaea (787). It ratified the only universally accepted codification of the holy canons contained in the immediately preceding Quinisext Ecumenical Council (692). Hence, inextricably bound up in the question of applicability of these canons is the question of the large amount of time which has elapsed since they were promulgated and ratified. Since the question of applicability is already the object of much interest in the Orthodox Church,¹⁶ attention

16. Some of the recent studies appearing on the subject are by N. Afanasieie, "The Canons of the Church Changeable or Unchangeable?" *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 11 (1967), 54-68; J. Meyendorff, "Contemporary Problems of Orthodox Canon Law," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17 (1972), 41-50; K. Mouratides, *To aionion Kyros ton hieron kanonon*, repr. from *Orthodoxos Typos* (Athens, 1972); I. Anastasiou, "Can All the Ancient Canons be Valid Today?" *Kanon. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen*

will be focused on the time factor.

Twelve centuries separate us from the last time the Church responded in Ecumenical Council to the needs of the faithful. The Church's response then, as now, was to correct the problems which had arisen in the life of the faithful. In this way, its canonical legislation has always been corrective. One ought not to look for detailed legislation which regulates all unforeseen situations and variations. Such has never been the case with the canonical legislation of the Orthodox Church. This is borne out by the way in which the Church responded over the ages to the ever-changing conditions confronting it. Certainly we expect no less today.

In seeking solutions, therefore, to the perplexing problems which beset us in this age, we shall seek out from the past what appears most akin to our situation today. We shall at the same time retain that which we believe to be timeless and immutable in the holy canons. If necessary, however, we shall suggest more realistic ways of dealing with specific modern problems. Our conclusion here will be directed exclusively to the question of 'mixed' marriages with Roman Catholics. This is due to the fact that the same questions would have to be answered differently for those situations involving Orthodox Christians and members of other Christian traditions.

From all that has been said thus far about the legislative system of the Orthodox Church, it must be kept in mind that the opinions offered below are only personal opinions, although shared by other Orthodox canonists as well. Furthermore, the reader of this study ought not to consider them as acceptable solutions to the individual needs of every autocephalous Orthodox Church. As has been seen by the brief historical overview presented earlier, each autocephalous Orthodox Church is free to meet its own individual needs by legislating for itself. This legislation is then binding only upon those Orthodox Christians within its particular jurisdiction. Other Orthodox Churches may follow suit with similar legislation, depending upon their needs. As is known, only an Ecumenical Council has the universal authority necessary to

create legislation binding upon the entire Orthodox Church. Providing an Ecumenical Council were convened, such authority, I dare say, would be exercised only regarding issues of universal concern. Issues of only local concern could continue to be met by the means already available to each local Orthodox Church.

In anticipation of the next Great Council of all the Orthodox Churches, which will undoubtedly address itself to many of the issues raised in this paper, I respectfully call attention to the urgency for guidance and leadership on the part of the local Churches. As in the past, it will be up to them to offer interim solutions to the burning issues which beset us. It was urgency in the past which prompted first the Church of Constantinople, and then various other autocephalous Churches, to show progressive leniency with regard to 'mixed' marriages between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians. It is my firm belief that our present dilemma demands similar action on the part of the Church with regard to related issues. This dilemma is accentuated particularly in the Western world where Orthodoxy constitutes a small minority within a vast pluralistic society.

Questions of Practical Concern

It will become apparent to the reader that the 'related issues' mentioned above refer to several questions of practical concern to Orthodox and Roman Catholics. Due to the fact that some of these questions have for the most part been competently answered,¹⁷ I shall confine myself to those points which are in need of further elucidation.

1. Regarding the marriage of an Orthodox and a Roman Catholic in the Roman Catholic Church, the question is one which has been raised before.¹⁸ As has been correctly recognized, the question cannot be divorced from its social and ethical dimensions. In today's world of rapid expansion and

17. See Victor J. Pospishil, *The Marriages of Eastern Non-Catholics Entered Outside their Church—A Problem for Catholics*, repr. from *Logos* (Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1975).

18. See Hamilcar S. Alivizatos, "Peri mikton gamon," *Ekklesiastikos Faros* 31 (1932), 437-38. Cf. Kotsonis, pp. 206-11.

instant communications, the hindrance of 'mixed' marriages is utopian. This ought not to be understood as an endorsement of 'mixed' marriages, but rather as an objective observation of present-day realities.

These realities were highlighted recently in an article by Victor J. Pospishil.¹⁹ They include the fact that: a) in the United States and Canada, where Orthodox are greatly outnumbered, they frequently enter into marriage with Protestants and Roman Catholics before Protestant or Roman Catholic clergy, or before a civil magistrate; b) in Communist countries in Europe, where religious marriages are frowned upon, many Orthodox Christians are married before a civil magistrate; c) in some Balkan countries, where there is a great shortage of priests, many Orthodox settle for a civil marriage ceremony; and d) in those European countries in which great numbers of workers from Eastern Europe are employed, many Orthodox from among those workers conform to the civil marriage form practiced there.

There is no doubt that these facts testify convincingly enough to the need for the Orthodox to reassess their traditional view towards 'mixed' marriages. Keeping in mind the immediate purpose of this study, I limit my remarks to those marriages involving Orthodox and Roman Catholics.

2. Marriages between Orthodox and Roman Catholics before an Orthodox Priest.

Ideally, such marriages ought to be avoided whenever possible. If, according to what was said earlier, man and woman are to be transformed in the reality of the kingdom, they must be able to share this reality through the same faith. This is the painful fact of our witness to such marriages.

Father John Meyendorff has proposed that many of the problems relating to 'mixed' marriages could be clarified for both Orthodox and non-Orthodox by restoring the marriage ceremony to the Divine Liturgy.²⁰ As the ultimate expression of unity, the Eucharist would be reserved only for marriages between Orthodox. All other marriages would then take place

19. Pospishil, *Marriages*, p.1.

20. Meyendorff, *Marriages*, pp. 41-42. See also A.N. Smirensky, "The Evolution of the Present Rite of Matrimony and Parallel Canonical Developments," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 8 (1964), 46.

in an extra-eucharistic ceremony. This would hopefully serve to encourage the sincere desire of the Orthodox spouse for complete fulfillment through mutual participation in the Eucharist.

3. Marriages between Orthodox and Roman Catholics before a Roman Catholic priest.

Any marriage consciously blessed outside of the Orthodox Church is presently equated to a denial by the Orthodox partner of the Orthodox faith. On these grounds, marriages such as those in question ought not to be tolerated. Should such a marriage nevertheless take place, the Orthodox partner desirous of reconciling him or herself with his or her Church ought to be received into communion only after an act of penance, but remarriage ought not to be required. Marriages between non-Orthodox are not repeated when one of the partners subsequently enters the Orthodox Church. Marriages between an Orthodox and a non-Orthodox performed outside the Orthodox Church ought not to be treated differently when the Orthodox partner has repented.

Furthermore, in view of the incontestable facts cited earlier, the Orthodox Church cannot afford to ignore the realities of the situation in certain parts of the world today. This would be the equivalent of indifference to its pastoral responsibilities. Its understandable position of austerity in the past, as well as its inconsistency in later practice, must be replaced by a responsible position.²¹ Such a position, I believe, was taken by the eminent canonist Hamilcar Alivizatos.²²

Accordingly, an answer to the problem regarding marriages between Orthodox and Roman Catholic partners should be sought in Orthodox sacramental theology. The Orthodox Church recognizes marriage as one of its sacraments. It also recognizes in theory and practice sacraments of some non-Orthodox Churches under certain conditions. It stands to reason, then, that the sacrament of marriage performed by these same Churches should be recognized under the following conditions:

a) the teaching of these Churches regarding the sacraments

21. See Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* (Minneapolis, 1975), p. 59.

22. Alivizatos, "Gamón," pp. 437-38.

must coincide with that of the Orthodox Church, and b) the sacrament must be performed by a validly ordained priest, whose priestly status rests upon the same understanding of priesthood as sacrament within the context of apostolic succession. Because of the Orthodox understanding that only the priest or bishop can minister the sacrament of marriage, recent Vatican II decisions concerning the function of deacons in this regard would be unacceptable.

Sacraments fulfilling these basic requirements are from a canonical point of view efficacious and should be recognized as valid. Our Church does not have difficulty recognizing by 'economy' the validity of Baptism, which is the fundamental sacrament, performed in the Roman Catholic Church. I do not see why, therefore, the same principle could not be applied to marriage.

4. One result of the Orthodox teaching concerning the priest as minister of the sacrament of marriage is that marriages lacking the blessing of a priest are declared null and void. This would undoubtedly include marriages that are performed in the Roman Catholic Church *without* a priest or bishop. Similarly null and void are those marriage performed despite the presence of absolute impediments. These latter include: absence of free consent; pre-existing marriage; a third marriage; ordination, and similar situations. The competent ecclesiastical authority (local hierarchy) would upon request declare marriages performed with an absolute impediment invalid. Marriages fulfilling conditions for divorce (adultery, apostasy, etc.) would continue to be treated as before: local tribunals would investigate the canonical causes of the divorce, which they would either recognize as existing or not. As to the recognition of annulment decisions handed down by a Roman Catholic Church Tribunal, I do not believe any local Orthodox Church would acquiesce to such an arrangement without reviewing the grounds for the annulment. This is in part due to the divergent views of our Churches as to what in fact constitutes an annulment.

In this study I have attempted to respond to some specific questions posed by Roman Catholics. I have also attempted to raise some of the problems witnessed daily in our Churches. The inability to offer definitive solutions stems partially from

the liberty afforded each independent Orthodox Church to act as the need arises locally. This reality increases our need and desire for the long-awaited next Pan-Orthodox Council. It is our sincere hope that a continual dialogue will until then be implemented and expanded to deal with marriage and similarly sensitive problems. These issues demand a serious, balanced, and united stand. In response to this call, I offer the above as a minimal and sincere attempt.

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THE PRICE OF FAITH:

Some Reflections on Nikodemos Hagiorites and His Struggle Against Islam, Together with a Translation of the "Introduction" to His *New Martyrologion*

Some readers often skip the reading of the introduction to a book or skim through it rather hurriedly. Perhaps this practice can be justified, for many introductions often say very little. In some cases, however, the loss can be substantial. One such example, I believe, is St. Nikodemos Hagiorites' "Introduction" to his *New Martyrologion*,¹ which upon careful examination proves to be a very significant historical statement of faith coming at a very critical time in the history of the Greek Orthodox people laboring under the Ottoman yoke. Although the lives of the New Martyrs which Nikodemos compiled, edited, and, in many instances, authored have been studied and used,² his "Introduction" has not generally received the attention it deserves from historians of modern Greek history.³ In an attempt to rectify this somewhat, I offer below Nikodemos' "Introduction" in English translation and some reflections on a neglected aspect of his personality.

1. Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον ἤτοι μαρτυρία τῶν νεοφανῶν μαρτύρων τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἄλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ τόπους μαρτυρησάντων, 3rd. ed. (Athens, 1961), pp. 9-25. *The New Martyrologion* was first published in Venice in 1794.

2. See, for example, Sophronios Eustratiades, Ἀγολόγιον τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας (Athens, n.d.); Constantine Chr. Doukakes, Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστής, 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Athens, 1948 - 1966); Viktor Matthaiou, Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστής, 2nd ed., 13 vols. (Athens, 1956), and the more recent John M. Perantones, Λεξικόν τῶν Νεομαρτύρων, 3 vols. (Athens, 1972). Perantones' work contains the most extensive bibliography on the New Martyrs. The best overall study, however, is that of Ioannes E. Anastasiou, "Σχεδιάσμα περί Νεομαρτύρων," Μνήμη 1821 (Thessalonike, 1971), pp. 7-61.

3. One recent exception is Apostolos Vakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, 4 vols. (Thessalonike, 1961-1973). See especially volume 4, p. 102. The first two volumes of Vakalopoulos' great work have been translated into English as: *Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461* (New Brunswick, 1970) and *The Greek Nation 1453-1669. The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society* (New Brunswick, 1976).

It is true that Nikodemos remained essentially a cloistered monk. Nonetheless, he produced an entire library of works aimed at the religious awakening and the regeneration of the Greek Orthodox people.⁴ He personally, or in collaboration with Makarios Notaras and others, was responsible for over twenty-six major works on Orthodox spirituality, plus hundreds of smaller studies, and was one of the major figures in the Kollyvades movement whose principal aim was the rediscovery of the spiritual resources and treasures of Orthodoxy.⁵ Through these works Nikodemos hoped that Orthodox Christians would become more knowledgeable of their faith and acquire the strength to resist the attractions of Islam. None of these works was better suited to the latter purpose than Nikodemos' *New Martyrologion*.

The Kollyvades movement, however, coincided in time with the discovery of Western European Enlightenment by many Greeks,⁶ especially those who studied outside the Ottoman Empire. Thus in the second half of the eighteenth century we had two 'enlightenments' at work simultaneously; one calling for the return to and the rediscovery and the deepening of the Orthodox faith; the other for the rejection of some fifteen hundred years of history (the Byzantine and Ottoman legacies) to return to the 'ideals' of classical Greece in terms of secular liberalism and humanism as viewed in that time in Western Europe.

It is the leaders of this latter, the secular 'enlightenment,' who became and still are the 'favorites' of modern Greek historians. Hence, Nikodemos who as the greatest contributor to the religious 'enlightenment' has been generally ignored, or when noted, is usually deprecated for his 'medieval' notions. It is

4. For a convenient listing of Nikodemos' works, see Constantine Cavarinos, *St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite* (Belmont, Mass., 1974), pp. 96-114.

5. Theokletos Dionysiates, 'Άγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἀγιορείτης, Ὁ βίος καί τὰ ἔργα του 1749-1809' (Athens, 1959); Cavarinos, *St. Nikodemos*, pp. 21-22; Charilaos S. Tzogas, 'Ἡ περί Μνημοσύνων Ἔρις ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὅρει κατὰ τὸν ΙΗ' αἰῶνα' (Thessalonike, 1969); Konstantinos K. Papoulides, *Τό κίνημα τῶν Κολλυβάδων* (Athens, 1971). See my extensive comments and review of Tzogas and Papoulides in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 19 (1972), pp. 203-08. In English see E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer (eds.), *Unseen Warfare* (London, 1952), especially the Introduction by H.A. Hodges, pp. 41-47.

6. For the Greek 'Enlightenment,' see the pioneer study in English of Raphael Demos, "The Neo-hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821): A General Survey," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19 (1958), 523-41; Konstantinos Demaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Athens, 1977).

true that it was the 'secular enlightenment' which more directly prepared the ground for the independence of the Greeks by advocating revolution, but without the 'religious enlightenment' there would have been far fewer Greeks to rise in revolution and to liberate. For conversion to Islam meant not only an irrevocable loss for Orthodox Christianity but for Hellenism as well. It is often overlooked that except for some philhellenes, only Orthodox Christians participated in the Greek revolution. Greeks who had become Muslims or even Roman Catholics refused to join in the struggle against the Ottoman Turks,⁷ whereas non-Greeks, however, who were Orthodox (Albanians, Vlachs, and others) did join the cause of their fellow Orthodox.

Another factor which is often forgotten is that Nikodemos is one of a triumvirate of monks, together with Kosmas Aitolos (1714 - 1779),⁸ and Nektarios Terpos (?1685 - 1732?)⁹ who were engaged in a desperate struggle against Islam and its attractions in a society in which the Muslim Turks had dominated for more than four centuries. It is to this struggle that Nikodemos directs his *New Martyrologion*.

The eighteenth century had witnessed a number of voluntary and involuntary mass conversions to Islam as well as a continuous erosion among the Orthodox faithful on an individual basis.¹⁰ This was due to a number of causes but chief among them was the indirect but nevertheless continuous and sustained social and economical pressure exerted upon the Sultan's Orthodox flock by the dominant Muslim society.

It is well known that according to Muslim sacred law, Christians were permitted freedom of worship as long as that worship was carried out inoffensively and in somewhat low key. But what is not always noted is that there was quite a difference

7. See, for example, Evangelos G. Rozos, *Οι Νησιώτες του Αιγαίου στον 'Αγώνα ...* (Athens, 1971), pp. 73-76.

8. For Kosmas Aitolos, see especially Markos A. Gkiolias, *Ὁ Κοσμάς Αἰτολός καί ἡ ἐποχή του* (Athens, 1972); Nomikos M. Vaporis, *Father Kosmas the Apostle of the Poor* (Brookline, Mass., 1977), and Constantine Cavarinos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, Mass., 1971).

9. For Terpos, see especially G. Valetas, *Ὁ ἀρματωμένος λόγος: Οἱ ἀντιστασιακές δῶαχες τοῦ Νεκταρίου Τέρπου βγαλμένες σὲ 1730. Εἰσαγωγή-ἐκλογές* (Athens, 1971).

10. Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία*, pp. 87-92; Anastasiou, *Σχεδιάσμα*, p. 12; Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle and London, 1977), pp. 50-55. For the earlier centuries, see especially Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14th - 16th Centuries," in H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis, Jr., (eds.), *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change* (The Hague and Paris, 1972), pp. 151-76.

between freedom permitted by law on paper and its actual exercise. Consequently, as the eighteenth century wore on, corruption within the Ottoman Empire increased and losses on the battlefield multiplied. Correspondingly, the lot of the individual Christian worsened.¹¹

In addition, individual Muslims considered it an act of great merit and piety to affect a conversion, particularly of someone of outstanding physical and mental ability. The joy was equally great if the proselyte was especially gifted or a clergyman. The greatest pressure, however, was that felt by the poor in their day-to-day living, in the struggle engaged in by most rural Christian folk to survive not only the uncertainties of the weather, the greed of their landowners but also the discrimination which was exercised regularly and consistently by the imposition of onerous taxes upon Christians.

The practice of gaining converts through the use of social and economical pressure was recognized not only by Nikodemos and Kosmas Aitolos,¹² but by the third monk cited above, Nektarios Terpos, who preached openly and militantly against Islam early in the eighteenth century in an effort to stem the tide of conversions.¹³ For Nektarios Terpos, heavy taxation was one of the principal causes for apostacies among Christians and at the same time constituted one of the most clever and diabolical methods ever devised to lure Christians away from Christ. Terpos thought this method so clever that he attributed the strategy to the devil who made a gift of his inspiration to the prophet Mohammed.

In his book *A Booklet Called Faith*, Terpos relates how this happened.

My most genuine son Mohammed [said the Devil], govern yourself and your people with great knowledge, with great craftiness so that you can deceive them [the Christians] and bring them into your will. But do not do it like other kings, that is, convert the Christians by force because these Christians are well attached to Christ. . . . Let them have their

11. See Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects Upon the *Reaya*," *ibid.*, pp. 338-53; Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία*, pp. 345-71; Gkiolias, *Κοσμός*, pp. 121-46, 165-70.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-118.

13. Terpos' efforts are summarized in his book *Βιβλαδριον καλούμενον πίστις ...*, first published in Venice in 1732, followed by other editions in 1733, 1734, 1750, 1755, 1756, 1779, 1799, and 1818. See Valetas, *Ὁ ἀρματωμένος λόγος* where an abridged and edited version of Terpos' 1734 edition is presented.

churches, their patriarchs, metropolitans, abbots, and elders. Let them chant as they please. But do what I am going to tell you. Make them go into debt and pay you taxes from month to month and year to year. Because of their love for Christ, they will give you all of their money. Later, they will sell their silver and brass. In the end, having nothing else, they will sell their fields and vineyards and they will become destitute. Then, willingly or not, they will themselves deny Christ and become Turks [Muslims] and join your religion and come into our service. In this way we can both have glory and honor.¹⁴

The story is apocryphal but the reality it represented is not.

Nikodemos does not repeat the story but he too recognized the seriousness of the daily pressures applied to Christians and their relationship to conversion. Nikodemos uses the 'voice' of the New Martyrs, those who had suffered martyrdom under the Ottoman Turks, both in his "Introduction" and in the *vitae*, to address the Orthodox Christians of his day on this subject.

Christian brethren, . . . people of our Lord Jesus Christ, chosen and beloved, in the sorrows you are undergoing imitate our patience, that of your colleagues. Because we have bravely suffered for Christ various tortures inflicted by the infidels, we have inherited an eternal kingdom and we have been numbered among the old and holy martyrs. And if in the name of Christ you endure with joy beatings, imprisonment, chains, forced labor, injuries, unbearable taxes and all other tortures which the present rulers impose upon you, surely you will be counted martyrs by choice and close to God.¹⁵

And elsewhere he says:

Let us inform you brethren, that the Muslims oppress you with heavy taxation and other evils for no other reason except to cause you to give up and to lose your patience, and in this way to deny your faith and to accept theirs. Therefore, my dear brethren, knowing their purpose protect yourselves for the love of God and salvation of your souls. Do not allow them to steal from you the treasure of your Holy faith

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.

15. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 14; Vaporia, "Introduction," p. 200 below.

of which the entire world, with all of its glory, comfort, and kingdoms is not worthy.¹⁶

Nikodemos' message, written in the vernacular of his day is addressed to the common people who read or had read to them the lives of the saints, the most popular type of literature of the time.¹⁷ It is not surprising then that Nikodemos uses this literary genre to communicate with the people most susceptible to and endangered by the attractions of Islam.

Nikodemos' message to his fellow Christians is in the nature of non-violent resistance: to stand fast in the faith, to be patient, to endure, to learn the treasures of the Orthodox faith because the Orthodox had a Counselor, he believed, who would not desert them. To convince them that they could do this, he does not cite examples of martyrs from the early history of the church about whom some could say that conditions were different then and that they were 'supermen.' This kind of argument Nikodemos rejects as out of hand. He will instead parade before his readers an entire army of men and women, clergymen and even some Muslims, most of whom were engaged in the most ordinary of occupations (sailors, gardeners, jewelers, barbers, tailors, etc.) who willingly gave up their lives, confessing Christ rather than save them by denying Him and converting to Islam.¹⁸ Moreover, the New Martyrs were men and women known to the common people who could and did easily relate to them.

Many present day Christians number the New Martyrs as friends. They have often eaten and drunk with them, and were present at their martyrdoms. They have divided among themselves their blood-soaked clothes for their own sanctification, and continue to hold on to them to the present day as talismans (*phylakta*). Moreover, they have buried their holy relics with their own hands.¹⁹

Nikodemos goes on to explain the phenomenon of the New Martyrs by giving five reasons why he believes God conde-

16. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 15; Vapori, "Introduction," p. 202 below.

17. See Basil Laourdas, "Greek Religious Texts During the Ottoman Period," in *Aspects of the Balkans*, Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (eds.), pp. 230-42.

18. For the most complete listing of the New Martyrs together with a concise account of their *Lives*, see Perantones, *Λεξικόν*, and Anastasiou, *Σχεδιάσμα*, pp. 18-19.

19. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 11; Vapori, "Introduction," p. 195 below.

scended in their appearance:

1) for the renewal of the whole of the Orthodox faith; 2) so that those without faith might not have any defense on the day of Judgment; 3) so that [the New Martyrs] might be the glory and pride of the Eastern Church, and the censure and shame of the heterodox; 4) so that they [New Martyrs] might serve as examples of patience for all of the Orthodox Christians who are being tyrannized under the heavy yoke of enslavement; 5) and last, so that [the New Martyrs] might stand as personifications of the sort of courage deserving of imitation in the deeds of all Christians who may be forced by similar circumstances to suffer martyrdom. But especially and particularly for those who have earlier come to deny the Orthodox faith.²⁰

Nikodemos tries to convince his readers that they are all required to witness for the faith, something which is not reserved only for an exclusive few.

Remember, brethren, that which the blessed Paul says; we Christians were given the grace not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for Christ. . . . Understand beloved, that the beatings, the imprisonment, the chains, the injuries, the dishonor, the persecutions, the exiles, the plundering of your belongings, and all the other great evils you suffer, are not because of any fault of yours, but only for the faith and name of Christ.²¹

Christians, therefore, must be prepared to suffer anything rather than betray their faith in Christ. Everyone must be prepared to become a martyr if the necessity presented itself.

And so, [and here I am quoting Nikodemos again] if sometimes the unbelievers envy you, or they slander you, or they coerce you, or in one way or another they try to induce you to deny Christ and accept their religion, guard yourselves, dearest brethren, for the love of Christ who redeemed you with his own blood. Guard yourselves for the precious salvation of your souls. We say it louder, guard yourselves so

20. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 10; Vaporis, "Introduction," p. 194 below.

21. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 16; Vaporis, "Introduction," p. 203 below.

that you will not deny your Orthodox faith and confess their religion.²²

Do not allow the efforts and the love of your parents, brethren, relatives, wife, children, and belongings to defeat you. Do not allow the love of mercy, glory, and pleasure of this world, indeed, do not allow even the love for your own life, to prevent you from walking on the blessed road to martyrdom. For if you wish to save your life, you will lose it, but if you lose your life for Christ, then you will find it.²³

Your treasure is Jesus Christ. Your glory is Jesus. Your pleasure is Jesus. Your whole life is Jesus. Because by suffering for Jesus, you have Jesus. And by having Jesus, you have gained all earthly and heavenly things, you have gained everything—everything.²⁴

Nikodemos' "Introduction," I believe, sheds light both on the nature of the struggle against conversion to Islam and his personal involvement in the preservation of Orthodoxy which indirectly meant the preservation of Hellenism as well.

22. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 17; Vaporis, "Introduction," p. 205 below.

23. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, pp. 19-20; Vaporis, "Introduction," p. 208 below.

24. Nikodemos, *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον*, p. 20; Vaporis, "Introduction," p. 208 below.

NIKODEMOS HAGIORITES' INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW MARTYROLOGION

May you, our Lord Jesus Christ, be blessed and glorified to the ages of ages. You who "before Pontius Pilate made the good confession" (1 Tim. 6:12) and because of this are named the true Protomartyr and the champion of all athletes. For in these latter times also, you have condescended, for your name's sake, to the appearance of New Martyrs.

Whoever takes this newly published book into his hands to read is obliged to utter this thankful doxology from the heart not once, or twice, or thrice, but as many times as the number of martyrs contained in it. For is it not appropriate just to glorify the Lord thousands upon thousands of times, seeing in this present book that even in our own time new athletes and unvanquished soldiers of Christ have risen in various parts of the world, in the intelligible firmament of the Church, as new stars and comets which illumine us with the sweetest rays of their martyrdom and miracles.

Why is it not proper for us to thank God, seeing so many athletes under the harsh yoke and the enslavement of the present powers? These are spiritual athletes who, in order to preserve the freedom and the nobility of our Christian faith, turned their backs on health, glory, pleasure, and every other physical enjoyment and surrendered themselves willingly to death.

Why is it not just for each of us to glorify God, as we witness: the fear of the future judgment advancing so much in the lives of these brave martyrs; the desire for heavenly gifts being victorious in them; the faith establishing itself so much in their souls; the hope increasing in their imagination; the faith of divine love igniting so strongly in them that these blessed ones run to their martyrdom like sheep to the slaughter? They look upon tortures as feasting, prisons as palaces, chains as golden ornaments, dishonor as honor, sorrows as comfort, fiery flames as coolness and refreshment, knives as toys, and, finally, cruel death as eternal life.

And when have we witnessed these things? We have witnessed them at a time when the fear of God has disappeared, when faith has weakened, and when hope has diminished. Further,

virtue has disappeared, and evil has been suspended over the Gospel. Ours is a time when everyone seeks his own: "They all look after their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 2:21), as the Apostle cries out. Wickedness has simply multiplied and love has grown cold, according to the word of the Lord, "Because wickedness is multiplied, most men's love will grow cold" (Matt. 24:12).

Truly this is a miracle similar to seeing spring flowers and roses blooming in the middle of winter, or the bright light of the sun shining out of the depths of the darkest night, or freedom giving birth in a time of slavery, and supernatural strength present in this present time of weakness.

So I am forced to say that "this is the change of the right hand of the Most High" (Ps. 76:10), "this is the finger of God" (Ex. 8:19); and this power is holy "for my power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9).

If someone were to ask why God has condescended for such martyrs as these to appear at the present time, I would give as answer the following five reasons: 1) for the renewal of the whole of the Orthodox faith; 2) so that those without faith might not have any defense on the day of Judgment; 3) so that [the New Martyrs] might be the glory and pride of the Eastern Church, and the censure and shame of the heterodox; 4) so that the [New Martyrs] might serve as examples of patience for all of the Orthodox Christians who are being tryannized under the heavy yoke of enslavement; 5) and last, so that [the New Martyrs] might stand as personifications of the sort of courage deserving of imitation in the deeds of all Christians who may be forced by similar circumstances to suffer martyrdom. But especially and particularly for those who have earlier come to deny the Orthodox faith.

These reasons are important, each of which I shall further elaborate in this present introduction. I beg my readers to please be indulgent.

First, these New Martyrs are the renewal of the entire Orthodox faith. It is natural for time to cause young and new things to grow old; with the passing of time, old things are thrown into the pit of disbelief and forgetfulness. As the seasons pass, they age and disappear as if they never existed. "And what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away" (Heb. 8.13).

Now, present-day Christians learn from the history of the Church of the martyrdoms and tortures which were suffered in the name of Christ by saints named Demetrios, George, Theodore, Iakovos, and in general, of all the brave Old Martyrs who lived from the time of Christ until that of Constantine the Great. They are required to believe these to be true, in accordance with the obligation they feel, to have the kind of simple faith which, according to St. Paul, "is the assurance of things . . . not seen" (Heb. 11:1).

However, the antiquity of these events, due to the passage of so much time since they occurred, can perhaps provoke in many, if not disbelief, at least doubt and some indecision. That is, how did those people, being cowardly and of weak nature, suffer so many horrible and terrible punishments?

But these New Martyrs of Christ, appearing on the world stage, uproot from the hearts of Christians all such doubt and indecision, and plant and renew in them the same resolute faith they have for the Old Martyrs. Just as new food strengthens all those bodies weakened by a previous hunger, as new rain revives the trees that are dry from drought, as the second plumage renews the wings of an aged eagle, "so that your youth is renewed like the eagle's" (Ps. 102:5), so these New Martyrs strengthen the faith of present day Christians. They renew a faith that has weakened and withered and grown old.

This is why present-day Christians no longer harbor doubts because those ancient martyrdoms, of which they of necessity can only have heard, they now see with their own eyes being reenacted by these New Martyrs of Christ. Eyes, according to the common saying, are more trustworthy than ears.

It would be inaccurate, however, to say only that they see. Many present-day Christians number the New Martyrs as friends. They have often eaten and drunk with them, and been present at their martyrdoms. And they have divided among themselves the blood-soaked clothes of the martyrs for their own sanctification, and continue to keep them to the present day as talismans. Moreover, they have buried their holy relics with their own hands.

Consequently they have received accurate confirmation, as it were, from the New Martyrs about the Old Martyrs as well. Or rather, they see the Old Martyrs suffering in these New Martyrs and come to realize that once again another St. George, St.

Demetrios, or St. Theodore has appeared in the world; not because of identical names, but more so because of the similarity of their martyrdom.

But that is not all. These New Martyrs renew the preaching of the holy Apostles in the hearts of present-day Christians. By their martyrdom they certify the divine Gospels and confirm the divinity of Jesus Christ. That is, they affirm that He is the true Son of God, consubstantial with the eternal Father and with His life-giving Spirit. They thus preach the great mystery of the Holy Trinity. In short, the New Martyrs have sealed the entire Orthodox faith of the Christians not only with words, but more so by the unbearable punishment which they endured in the spilling of their own blood, and in their death by martyrdom.

Just as in the past, the rod of Moses became a serpent, "so he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent" (Ex. 4:3), so in the same way the faith of Jesus Christ, which was formerly very fervent in the days of its youthfulness when the Apostles and Martyrs lived, was later transformed into a lukewarm faith because of its age. But just as Moses seized the serpent from the lower part, that is, from the tail, and the serpent became a rod, "put out your hand, and take it by the tail . . . and it became a rod in his hand" (Ex. 4:4), so in a similar fashion God condescended to the appearance of the Martyrs in these latter times, and by them demonstrated that they are the renewal of the entire Orthodox faith.

Second, these New Martyrs cause the unbelievers to be confounded in the day of judgment. For just as a little yeast when mixed with a lot of flour transmits its own strength to the flour and all of it becomes dough, in the same way God saw to it that the few faithful should be mixed with the many who are unbelievers, so that the former might transmit to the latter the Orthodox faith, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth, so the divine Chrysostom assures us: "For this reason he mixed those who believe in Him with the multitudes, in order that we might transmit to one another our wisdom" (*On the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 46). This, of course, God especially sought to bring about with these New Martyrs, because almost all of them, having grown up among the multitude of unbelievers, in the end found the courage to preach the Christian faith before their rulers and judges. They proclaimed the Christian faith to

be both true and without error, and confessed with a brilliant voice that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, true God, the wisdom and word of God "through whom all things were made" (John 1:2). Their confession was further confirmed, not only with the spilling of their own blood, but even more so with the various miracles which God worked through them, both at the time of their martyrdom, as well as after their deaths.

I allow myself to say that many of these martyrs, having compassion on those of little faith, went to their place of martyrdom in order to preach to them the truth. They taught them to leave the darkness in which they were dwelling, and to rush to the light of godliness and faith in Christ so that they might not be condemned to the unquenchable fires of hell.

But these miserable people, blinded by the ruler of this age of darkness and by their own passions, were unable to open their spiritual eyes and to see the truth of the Gospel and of the faith of the Christians. As Paul says, "the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4). Hence, they will be without a defense on the day of judgment, inasmuch as having heard the preaching of these New Martyrs, and having seen so much terrible suffering as well as the miracles that God has wrought through them, they still did not believe, but remained in the darkness "for their wickedness blinded them, and they did not know the secret purpose of God" (Wis. 2:21-22).

These New Martyrs then will accuse and judge them just as Moses did the Jews: "it is Moses who accuses you" (John 5:45). The twelve Apostles, too, will judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28), while God will be justified in His words according to David, and will be victorious in His judgment through these Martyrs. As it is also written in the Gospel, "yet wisdom is justified by her deeds" (Matt. 11:19). And in a similar way, He will speak to them these evangelical words: "If I had not spoken to you through these Martyrs, you would have no sin, but now you have no excuse for your sin" ([cf.] John 15:22).

Third, these New Martyrs are the glory and the pride of the Eastern Church and the censure of the heterodox. Before their appearance, the enemies of the Church had been given occasion, together with the other slanders that they also have spewed out against the Faith, to reproach the Church for not producing a

new saint or martyr. But they have been put to shame for all eternity and have become embarrassed by the evidence contained within this book. Indeed, the Eastern Church has been enriched and filled not by one, or two, or three New Martyrs, but by a host of New Martyrs (we remain silent concerning the other new saints who have at various times and places shown forth in these latter days, since this is not our present task). These New Martyrs are not inferior to the Old Martyrs, neither in their outspokenness towards the tyrants, nor in their confession of faith, nor in their suffering, nor in signs and miracles. But in all of these things they have emulated their glorious predecessors. Did the Old Saints witness for the faith of the Holy Trinity? So, also have the New Saints witnessed. Did the former shed their blood for the name and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ? So, also, have the latter shed their blood. I do not want to say that the latter shed more blood than the former, since the former struggled against polytheism and idolatry, which is such patent ungodliness that it can deceive a logical mind only with difficulty. The latter, however, have struggled against the single-person monotheism of those of another faith which is a hidden ungodliness that can easily deceive the mind.

Therefore, though these martyrs are new in age, they are old in martyrdom. Though they are in succession of the race, they are first, however, in crowns. For Jesus Christ, the Lord of the intelligible vineyard of the Eastern Church, in accordance with the parable of the Gospel, called workers to his vineyard (Matt. 20:1), both the Old and these New Martyrs. Beginning with the first, up to the last, he made them all equal, by giving all of them the one and the same coin, which is the crown of martyrdom and the enjoyment of the heavenly kingdom.

Therefore, the blessing that God gave to old Israel—to eat the old and the new offspring—“and you shall eat old store long kept and you shall clear out the old to make way for the new” (Lev. 26:10), and the blessing he promised to give to those who fear him—to see sons and grandsons—“May you see your children’s children” (Ps. 128:6), has now been acquired in a more spiritual way by the Holy Eastern Church of Christ. This is true because she indulges in, and is spiritually fed by, not only the offspring, of the Old Martyrs, but also by the New, her New Athletes. She sees born of her spiritually both her first sons, who are the Old Martyrs, and the sons of her first sons,

that is, the successors of those young Athletes. She joyfully embraces their holy relics, and adorns herself with their sacred blood as a bride with "garments with scarlet borders and with purple grounds, and those made of fine linen, and the purple and the scarlet ones, and the transparent Laconian dresses, with armlets and wreathed work, earrings, fringes, crescents, chains, bracelets, finger rings, and ornaments for the right hand, light coverings for couches" ([cf.] Is. 3:18-23) with links, necklaces, glorious vestments, and all other bridal garments covered with pearls and gold adornments that are mentioned in Holy Scriptures. She boasts in these and is adorned and glorified. She enjoys both of her sons equally, ineffable joy, chanting with song to the bridegroom Christ: "Newly gathered as well as old, for you, my beloved, I have kept them" (S. of S. 7:14).

This is indeed what increases her joy, because she sees, with the passing of time, the number of her new sons increasing. Because in the present year [1794], in a period of nine months, she saw blooming in her spiritual paradise—like red roses, fragrant roses—five New Martyrs who suffered in various places. From this she was assured that she, who was accused of being sterile and barren, truly had given birth to seven as did Anna. Many of her children became, I say, the New Saints and Martyrs "For she who was barren gave birth to seven children" (1 Kg. 2:5) and "for many more are the children of the desolate than of her who has a husband" (Is. 54:1).

But I do not mean to speak only in the past tense—that she "gave" birth. She will give birth to such new sons and martyrs to the end of the age. This generation of new saints assuredly will not ever be absent from her. "Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place" (Matt. 24:34).

The reason for this is evident, because if the bridegroom of the Eastern Church lives and is always found spiritually united with the bride as he promised, "Lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age," (Matt. 28:20) and if her bestman, the Holy Spirit, remains with her forever, "I will pray to the Father, and he will give you another counselor, to be with you forever" (John 14:16), then who can doubt that it follows that she will give birth to such spiritual children forever?

Therefore, if perchance these New Martyrs are assuredly and truly saints who have pleased God and have been glorified by

Him through the miracle of divine Grace, and especially through the appearance of divine light, then they are children of the Eastern Church who know her doctrines. Now let the childish ones come and draw their own conclusions and say that, since the New Martyrs are saints and pleasing to God, so therefore the Eastern Church who spiritually gave birth to them is holy and the depository of the divine grace of the Holy Spirit. It equally follows that her dogmas are orthodox and godly, for as the sons are so is the mother, and as the fruit is so is the tree, and as the effects are so is the cause.

Fourth, these New Martyrs are an example of patience to all the Orthodox who are being tyrannized under the yoke of enslavement. About this I shall not speak, but I shall allow the martyrs themselves to come forward to speak to the Christians as their own living representatives.

So what do they tell them? Christian brethren, beloved and much desired brethren, people of our Lord Jesus Christ, chosen and beloved, in the sorrows you are undergoing imitate our patience, that of your colleagues. Because we have bravely suffered for Christ various tortures inflicted by the infidels, we have inherited an eternal kingdom, and we have been numbered among the old and holy martyrs. And if in the name of Christ you endure with joy beatings, imprisonment, chains, forced labor, injuries, unbearable taxes, and all the other tortures which the present rulers impose upon you, surely you will be counted martyrs by choice, and close to God. Because as the divine Chrysostom says: "Martyrdom is judged not only by the rejection of one's life, but by the intent as well. A man does not become a martyr because he is beheaded, but rather due to his honorable intent even if he does not suffer martyrdom" (*Commentary on Psalm 95*). And he says again: "Bear bravely, therefore, whatever befalls you, for this is your martyrdom" (*Commentary on Psalm 127*).

Therefore, considered to be martyrs by intention, you are destined to be numbered with us as martyrs after death, and you will reside in a broad place of brightness, in a place of joy and rest.

Do you want to know how this is true? Read the life of St. Akakios the Young, who lived in the Kavsokalyvion of Mount Athos. There you will find that this saint was once granted a vision and revelation. His mind was lifted up into the heavens,

and there he saw a place like a valley which was very broad, very beautiful, and very bright, filled with great and beautiful palaces but empty of residents, because there appeared in them neither angels nor people. Looking at these he wondered to himself and was amazed. How was it that so many beautiful palaces and such a broad and ample place did not have any inhabitants? He therefore asked the angel who was guiding him about this. The angel answered: "Akakios, this place and these palaces are ready to be occupied after death and after the general resurrection by all those Christians who for the faith and for the name of Christ pay taxes to the Muslims, and bear with joy the evil and the sufferings which are inflicted on them. Therefore, they are fortunate who pay without complaining." O, joy, comfort, and refreshment of present day Christians!

Therefore, my brethren, let this heavenly place that awaits you remain well fixed in your imagination. Do not allow yourselves ever to forget these beautiful palaces, so that they may comfort you with hope in your grief and in the suffering that you are undergoing. Indeed, nothing else helped us martyrs also to endure our martyrdoms, as the hope of enjoying heavenly riches. Bear it a little longer, my brethren, and the sweetest Jesus Christ, who comforts those who labor, will come and take you with Him to allow you to rest forever in the place of happiness and repose that He has prepared for you, as He Himself did promise: "And when I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and will take you to myself, that where I am you may be also" (John 14:3). Because He is not so unjust as to forget all the labors and toil that you have suffered for His name. He is only being forbearing to test you, to see if you have patience and love for Him: "For God is not so unjust as to overlook your work and the love which you showed for His sake in serving the saints, as you still do" (Heb. 6:10).

Therefore, "The Lord is not slow about his promise" (2 Pet. 3:9), "it will surely come, it will not delay" (Hab. 2:3), "for you have need of endurance, so that you may do the will of God and receive what is promised" (Heb. 10:36). Truly, is it not a great shame that ordinary athletes and wrestlers compete until blood flows in order to receive, if victorious, a perishable crown made out of laurel, or myrtle, or leaves of the wild olive tree, or some other kind of plant, while you Christians, who are going to receive imperishable heavenly crowns, and who are

going to live forever in heavenly palaces, cannot show a little patience in the difficulties that you are suffering? For the athletes "do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable" (1 Cor. 9:25).

On the contrary, we should say, woe to us if we had lost our patience in the suffering which we had endured. In truth then we would have lost our faith and the kingdom of heaven, and we would have been condemned to eternal hell. The same is true for you. Woe to you, if you do not bear the evil that you suffer for Christ, but lose your patience, because you will lose your faith and God, and His kingdom, and you will inherit eternal hell. Therefore, the Holy Spirit says through Sirach: "Woe to them who have lost patience" (Eccles. 2:16). Indeed let us inform you, brethren, that the Muslims oppress you with heavy taxation and other evils for no other reason than to cause you to give up and to lose your patience, thereby denying your faith and accepting theirs. Therefore, my dear brethren, knowing their purpose, protect yourselves. Protect yourselves for the love of God and the salvation of your souls. Do not allow them to steal from you the treasure of your holy Faith, of which the entire world, with all of its glory, comfort, and kingdoms, is not worthy.

Remember that our Master Christ, who placed you as sheep among the wild beasts, gave you this commandment: be as wise as the serpent. "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves; so be wise as serpents" (Matt. 10:16). And why is this? Because just as the serpent struggles to protect its head from harm more than any other part of its body, so should you, too, brethren, prefer to lose all of your belongings and walk about poor and as beggars. It is better to lose your honor, better to lose your very life, rather than betray in the smallest way your most holy and heavenly faith and to deny the sweetest name of our Christ and God. He only is our head and glory, and all of our salvation in this present and future life.

However, in order to have a steadfast faith, it is necessary to live a Christian life in accordance with that faith. That is to say, it must be accompanied by good works. Because just as a true and holy faith gives birth to and establishes a true and holy life, so does a holy life give birth to and establish the holy faith. According to the divine Chrysostom, one is a component of the other. We see in practice that whoever denies the faith of

Christ or adheres to evil dogmas has been earlier corrupted by an evil, malicious, and perverted life. If you are leading a truly Christian life, not only will you keep the Orthodox faith, not only will you not become the cause for unbelievers to blaspheme against the holy name and faith of Christ, of which God complaining says "continually all the day my name is despised" (Is. 52:6), but you will also move the unbelievers to return to the faith, seeing the light of your good works. As the Lord said, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16).

Moreover, you will force them to praise you and say: truly this Christian people is blessed by God: "all who see them shall acknowledge them, that they are a people whom the Lord has blessed" (Is. 61:9).

Remember, brethren, that which the blessed Paul says; we Christians were given the grace, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for Christ "for it has been granted to you that for the sake of Christ you should not only believe in him but also suffer for his sake" (Phil. 1:29).

Understand, beloved, that the beatings, the imprisonments, the chains, the injuries, the dishonor, the persecutions, the exiles, the plundering of [your] belongings, and all the other great evils you suffer, not because of any fault of yours, but only for the faith and name of Christ; that all of these, I say, are divine grace. They are heavenly gifts and charges that cause you to abstain from every form of evil. They cleanse you and illumine you just as fire illumines and cleanses gold "like gold in the furnace he tried them" (Wis. 3:6), because these prove to you that you are true sons and disciples of Jesus Christ and not false; genuine and not illegitimate. "It is for discipline that you have to endure. God is treating you as sons; for what son is there whom his father does not discipline?" (Heb. 12:7). And simply, because these sufferings allow you to be glorified with Christ and for Christ, "we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with [Him]" (Rom. 7:17), and this produces "what no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived" (1 Cor. 2:9).

Therefore, being prudent, you should prefer to suffer with Christ and for Christ instead of feasting and living in luxury with others. "It is preferable to suffer with Christ and for Christ

instead of living luxuriously with others," says Gregory the Theologian (*Sermon at Easter*). Shall we say something greater? It is better to love and suffer for the sweetest Jesus Christ than to resurrect the dead and perform greater miracles." Because in the case of miracles, the debtors are those who perform miracles in Christ, who gave them the miraculous power; but in the case of suffering, Christ becomes the debtor because they suffer for him. This is why [St.] Paul boasted more in the Cross and in his weakness, that is, in his suffering which he endured for Christ, than in the revelations given to him and in the miracles which he performed. "But far be it from me to glory except in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. 6:14). And "I will all the more gladly boast of my weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9).

Finally, we say to you, our enslaved brethren, that from now on you are inexcusable and you cannot say, perhaps, that in your time you did not witness any examples of steadfastness and therefore you did not endure the tyrannies of those in power. Behold how we endure them up to the point of death. You, however, have not yet reached the point of endurance; "You have not yet resisted to the point of shedding your blood" (Heb. 12:4).

For this reason you must be steadfast in the afflictions which you are suffering, not with an imperfect and deficient steadfastness but complete and perfect, "and let steadfastness have its full effect" (Jas. 1:4). That is, it is not enough simply to endure evil but to endure it without any grumbling, without any blaspheming, and with joy and thanksgiving; "count it all joy, my brethren, when you meet various trials" (Jas. 1:2). If you truly remain steadfast in the way you will find blessings: "Blessed is the man who endures trial" (Jas. 1:12). With such endurance you will save your souls. "By your endurance you will gain your souls" (Lk. 21:19). In this way, by assuredly enduring until the end, you will assuredly be saved. "He who endures to the end will be saved" (Matt. 24:13).

Fifth and last. These New Martyrs and their deeds are examples of courage and exhortation, to be imitated by all the other Christians especially by those who previously denied Christ. Now let the martyrs themselves come forward to demonstrate personally. "To honor the martyrs, we imitate them" says the divine Chrysostom. Therefore, if you, brethren, honor us as

New Martyrs of Christ, if you praise us and glorify us as saints with encomia and hymns, with sacred services, because we bravely endured so many martyrdoms and spilled our blood for the faith and love of Christ, we thank you. And for this we will intercede with God for your salvation.

The most pleasing and the greatest honor, however, that you can offer us, is to imitate us with deeds and for you also even to endure martyrdom in the name of Christ whenever time and necessity present themselves. And so, if sometimes the unbelievers envy you, or slander you, or coerce you, or in one way or another try to induce you to deny Christ and to accept their religion, guard yourselves, dearest brethren, for the love of Christ who redeemed you with His own blood. Guard yourselves for the most precious salvation of your souls. We say it louder, guard yourselves so that you will not deny your Orthodox faith and confess their religion. Do not become so blind that you prefer darkness to light, falsehood to truth, a copper and counterfeit coin to pure and tried gold, glass and common stone to a priceless diamond; in a word, that you choose Hades over heaven, hell over paradise.

Never agree to abandon your most holy faith which transforms those who believe in it from men into angels, from earthly into heavenly people, from physical sons into sons of God, by grace brighter than the sun, inheritors of the heavenly kingdom. Simply stated, never, dear brethren, but never deny the most gentle, the sweetest Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, through whom everything was created, all the heavenly, earthly, and infernal things. He is your creator, your provider, your father, your benefactor, your savior, and your teacher, who became man, suffered, was crucified, died and was resurrected for your own salvation. He cleansed you with His divine baptism; He fed you with His body; He watered you with His blood; He redeemed you from the hands of the devil; He saved you from hell, and He made you inheritors of His kingdom.

So neither with the slightest word nor with simple gestures cause yourself to appear as if you are denying Christ and accepting another religion, even if they make you suffer tens of thousands of tortures, or they inflict upon you a thousand deaths. Because that small word or that simple gesture will separate you from Christ and His kingdom, and you will be

condemned to an everlasting hell.

In this, imitate us, the New Martyrs, who never consented in any way, even with a word, to deny our faith. We have remained steadfast, in order to be free in the future life from the suffering and to be able to return to our faith as before. Imitate those Old Martyrs as well who preferred to suffer horrible martyrdom rather than utter a syllable or make a single gesture which would free them from death but would deny their faith in God who if betrayed once could not be found again. "The pious ones willingly suffered those things which humbled even the strongest and accepted their suffering even without the slightest acknowledgement, because they know that they would not have true salvation if they denied him, since God is, briefly, He whom one accepts. There is no one else when one denies Him," says Gregory the Theologian (*On Matt.* chap. 10).

Remember, too, the most brave martyr of Christ, Barlaam. The Greeks tried to force him to move only his hand, as St. Basil writes (*Sermon on Barlaam*). But even in this they did not succeed. Therefore, when the wicked ones placed a burning coal with incense on it in his right hand, his hand burned. His flesh became wasted, his veins disappeared, and the fire fell to the ground. The martyr, however, held his hand stretched out without moving it at all, for it was thought by the unbelievers that the slightest movement meant a denial of Christ and a sacrifice to idols.

Do you say that you believe in Christ, that you love Him with all your heart? If this is true, you must prove faith and love with deeds, the perfect sign of which is to die for His love, "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13).

Many of us New Martyrs voluntarily and on our own went out and sought martyrdom, which is dangerous and not very lawful. And you who find the cause for martyrdom lawful because you are not responsible for it, why should you be afraid and so not stand up courageously to die for the love of your creator?

What we have said up to now for you who have not denied your faith, we say for you, too, brethren, who have arrived at that point, (alas?) voluntarily or by force, where you have

denied the faith of Christ or accepted the religion of the infidels. Because both of you can be moved to imitate our own martyrdom.

For you who have denied Christ, we would like to add the following; that is, it is not so strange that you have been defeated, brethren, and have fallen into the state of denial, because in this world there is a continuous war between the devil and man. Sometimes man wins; sometimes he is defeated. "For a righteous man falls seven times, and rises again" (Pr. 24:16). Nor is what happened to you anything new. This disaster has happened to so many people, even to many of us New Martyrs who have denied Christ and our own faith. What is truly strange and a great evil is to remain in that pitiful faith to which you have fallen and not wish to rise up from it. Therefore, we urge you, brethren, to imitate us, your brethren, who have suffered the same thing and to take up the fight with the enemy who defeated you for a second time. Do not quit until you have defeated him decisively. We shall say it plainly.

1) You must go to some experienced and virtuous confessor to confess the denial you made and all of your other sins, revealing to him the purpose of your [intended] martyrdom.

2) You must ask to receive a second anointing with Holy Unction, in accordance with the rule of our Holy Church.

3) Go off to a very quiet place and remain there. Beseech God with fasting, vigils, and tears to grant you mercy for the great error you committed. Ask Him also, of course, to fire up His divine love in your heart, in order to strengthen you in your martyrdom, so that you will put the devil and his servants to shame.

4) Receive Holy Communion with contrition and reverence.

5) After you have done all this, rise up and go to the very same place where you denied Christ previously and there deny the religion you accepted and confess the faith of Christ. And with this confession spill your blood and die. This is what we did, and with the grace of Christ we were victorious. You too must do the same so you will also be victorious.

For, brethren, we also tell you this. You who once denied Christ perhaps can be saved by repentance and by giving satisfaction without the need for martyrdom, as the canons state. But this repentance is not, however, perfect and complete

but incomplete, partial, and imperfect because the repentance and satisfaction are not equivalent, nor is the penance proportionate to the error of denial and to the other sins that you committed during the period of denial. There must always be some kind of proportion and likeness between the error and the penance, as theologians teach us. For this reason, the eighth canon of the Holy Martyr Peter of Alexandria states that the perfect and wholehearted repentance of those who have denied Christ is to go to the same place where they denied Him and there to confess Him before everyone. And with that confession to die: "If then all who have fallen away did that, then they have showed perfect and wholehearted repentance." Because according to natural and human law, at that place where one has lost one's treasure there must one go to seek it. And it is the thieves who stole his belongings that he must catch and from whom he must recover those belongings.

Be courageous, therefore, brethren, and strengthen your hearts for the contest of martyrdom. Do not allow the efforts and love of your parents, brethren, relatives, wife, children, and belongings to defeat you. Do not allow the love of mercy, glory, and the pleasures of this world, indeed, do not allow even the love for your own life to prevent you from walking the blessed road of martyrdom.

For if you wish to save your life, you will lose it, but if you lose your life for Christ, then you will find it. "For whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it" (Matt. 16:25). Your treasure is Jesus Christ. Your glory is Jesus. Your pleasure is Jesus. Your whole life is Jesus. Because by suffering for Jesus, you have Jesus. And by having Jesus, you have gained all earthly and heavenly things. You have gained everything, everything.

Just think about the fact that the Master of all, the sinless Jesus Christ, sacrificed His life and died on the Cross for your love. "But God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us" (Rom.5:8).

It is a great thing if you who are servants and sinners and, indeed, deniers, die for this love, for as St. Basil says, "what great servant suffers for his Master?" If God the Father Himself became a witness of His Son's divinity, having proclaimed Him so at the Jordan, on Mount Tabor, and in the Passion which fol-

lowed, and if His only-begotten Son became a witness of this Father, is it not a great thing, I say, if you who are mortal human beings become witnesses of the Holy Trinity? "You are witnesses, says the Lord, and my servants whom I have chosen" (Is. 43:10).

If the people of this world endanger their lives in order to obtain glory, riches, and other perishable and transient things, and if often they do not even succeed, what would you be doing if you sacrificed your lives in order to gain positively and certainly an inexhaustible treasure, an eternal kingdom, and so to become heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ ([cf.] Rom. 8:17)?

Brethren, do not allow the wild faces of the tyrants, or their number, or their cries, or their threats to frighten you. Do not be afraid of the wounds, the swords, the chains, or the jails. Do not be afraid of hanging, hooks, and fire. First, because all of these things are horrible only when contemplated, but in reality when experienced are truly nothing; indeed, they are contemptible to a great soul. Second, because once the love of Christ and the desire for martyrdom catches fire in your heart, then you will consider all of these things ridiculous games. Moreover, you will consider them to be roses, flowers, delights, and feasts, as we have in fact experienced them.

"For when the love of piety takes hold of the soul, she laughs at every kind of adversity and at those who torture her because she desires [Christ]. These adversities please her rather than hurt her" as Basil the Great says (*Sermon on Barlaam*). Therefore, aflame with divine love, you will cry out with the Apostle, "who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" (Rom. 8:35.)

Third, do not allow the aforesaid tortures to frighten you, because they can only kill your body. They cannot kill your soul. Rather, they vivify your soul together with your body. Therefore, Christ encourages you saying, "Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul" (Matt. 10:28). Do you want us to show you what it is that you ought to fear, brethren? To deny Christ and not to stand bravely to confess Him; this only is truly to be feared, for if you deny Christ, alas, Christ will also deny you on the day of judgment. "But whoever denies me before men, I also will deny before my Father who is in heaven"

(Matt. 10:33). And you will put your body and soul in the fire of Hell: "But I will warn you whom to fear: fear him who, after he has killed, has power to cast into Hell" (Lk. 12:5).

Behold, brethren, Christ the Master stands and watches the course of your martyrdom, holding in His hands imperishable and heavenly crowns, accompanied by all the tens of thousands of angels and by all the orders of saints. As soon as He sees you begin your martyrdom with faith, love, and magnanimity, and sees you preaching His name openly before the unbelievers, He will send you secretly and invisibly His divine grace, which will help you and strengthen you in your martyrdom.

Immediately upon seeing you complete the course of your martyrdom, He will receive your sacred souls into His bosom, to crown them, to glorify them, and to honor them as He did the souls of the Old Martyrs. He will find you worthy to reign together with Him forever in His heavenly kingdom, and to rejoice with all the choirs of angels and with all the orders of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, hierarchs, martyrs, and saints. Above all, He will confess you before His Father as you confessed Him before men. "So everyone who acknowledges me before men, I also will acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 10:32). He will glorify your holy relics here on earth, either with the appearance of His light, or with some sign or miracle, according to His divine justice. Or He will, at the very least, honor you with the veneration and respect of the Christians.

What other glory can be found to be greater? What is higher or more desirable than this forthrightness? Truly one would think of sacrificing not only one, or two, or three, but thousands of lives of one's own, just to win such a divine prize and glory. "I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us" (Rom. 8:18).

Therefore, run brothers, run to reach what is desired. Hurry, hurry, so that the prize will not escape you. Fight, fight, so that others will not take the crown away from you. The labor is small, but the relief is great. The suffering is temporary, but the reward that you will inherit will last forever. Bitter is the cup of martyrdom, but sweeter still is the enjoyment of Jesus Christ. This is a very profitable enterprise, my dear brethren. You give

up a perishable body and you receive it back unperishable. You sell blood and you purchase heaven.

Either now or later it is natural for you to die. So transform this natural event into a noble virtue, and with your death win an eternal life, a life free from sorrow, a blessed life filled with happiness, free of any evil and accompanied by every good.

You will then be found worthy, you who have defeated the beast, that is, the devil, and his reflection, the leader of the religion of the unbelievers. You will be found worthy, I say, to stand as victors on the sea of glass, that is, on divine blessedness, the most transparent and most filled with ineffable riches, as you hold harps in your hands to sing and glorify our Lord forever. According to the book of Revelation, "And I saw what appeared to be a sea of glass mingled with fire, and those who had conquered the beast and its image and the number of its name, standing beside the sea of glass with harps of God in their hands. And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the son of the Lamb" (Rev. 15:2-3).

We conclude now by saying, brethren, that if you had not seen us, the New Martyrs, in your time, you would have had some indifferent excuse for not running forward to martyrdom. But now you have no excuse. Therefore, because God condescended for you to have not one, or two, but a whole cloud of witnesses, let us also lay aside every weight, and sin which clings so closely, and let us run with perseverance the race that is set before us, looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith" (Heb. 12:1-2).

I now turn my attention to you, O New Athletes and Martyrs of Christ, sweetest people and names in all Christianity. You are the newest addition to and the bravest army of the Heavenly King, loud and piercing preachers of the Holy Trinity, courageous broadcasters of the divinity of Jesus Christ, defenders of Christian piety, and enemies of impiety. You are the followers of the Lord's suffering, victors and conquerors of the three great enemies: the flesh, the world, and the ruler of the world.

You who have been baptized with the baptism of blood, blood which did not become, according to Gregory the Theologian, contaminated or infected, you truly are the renewal of the entire Orthodox faith. You have proven the unbelievers in-

defensible on the day of judgment. You are the glory of the Eastern Church and the shame and the rebuke of the heretics. You showed the example of endurance to all Christians. You exhort the Orthodox, and especially those who denied Christ, to imitate your martyrdom in their deeds. You, you truly, according to St. Paul, "complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of the body" (Col. 1:24), and you have become spectacles to the world, to angels, and to men ([cf.] 1 Cor. 4:9).

You have become a spectacle to men: to the unfaithful shame, dishonor, and grief; to Orthodox Christians, pride, glory, and joy. You have become a spectacle to angels: to the evil demons pain and unbearable depression; to the blessed angels delight and ineffable joy. For the angels themselves rejoice and wish to come down and witness your suffering, that of the New Martyrs. This is according to what blessed Peter says; that is, to the suffering of the saints "angels long to look" (1 Pet. 1:12). Although they forever look upon the blessed face of God, for, as the Lord says, "angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 18:10), even so, the angels do not feel their own blessedness diminished when they turn from the face of God and look upon you, the New Martyrs. This is true because, according to St. Cyprian, the sight of the martyrs is so blessed that it carries with it blessedness. So as much as they are pleased and blessed because they see the face of God, they are even more pleased because they see you, the New Martyrs, in the midst of Christ's suffering and martyrdom. It is one thing to speak of glory and blessedness and another to speak of suffering and martyrdom for Christ. For the Lord named the Cross and his passion glory, "now is the Son of Man glorified" (John 13:31).

Am I saying that the angels rejoice over your torturous suffering? If it were possible to give to the dispassionate angels the passion of envy, they would certainly want to envy nothing else but you, the martyrs, because you were found worthy to suffer for Christ. And if it were possible to give them bodies, they would not use them, except to become martyrs for Christ. But because both of these things are impossible according to their nature, they substitute for them the great desire to look upon you who have suffered for Christ, for "upon you angels desire to look."

You, O New Martyrs of Christ, are the first fruits and the first born of our nature, the unripe wheaten-groats, and the new sacrifice that our generation offers to God as a thanksgiving gift. As it is written, "on the day of the first fruits, when you offer a cereal offering of the new grain to the Lord" (Num. 28:26), and "if you offer a cereal offering of first fruit to the Lord, you shall offer for the cereal offering of your first fruits crushed new grains" (Lev. 2:14).

Truly you have been found to be the justification of our present wicked generation, through which our sins are expiated before God. Immediately when He turns and sees your blood and your death, He puts an end to his anger towards us, as Isaiah indicates when he says, "Let them bring forth their witnesses, let them be justified" (Is. 43:9). Finally, you are the obstacle and the reason for which God has delayed the second coming and has not brought about the end of the world. What assures us of this? Holy Revelation, because it is written there that all the souls of the Old Martyrs cried out asking God to avenge their blood prior to the general judgment. But they were told to have patience a while longer until their other brothers had completed their martyrdom, that is you, the New Martyrs. "And they were told to rest a little while longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brethren who are to be slain, even as they had been, should be complete" (Rev. 6:11).

Therefore, O New Martyrs of Christ, what can we name you? Angels? Yes, because you have despised the body, and as incorporeal sufferers you defeated the incorporeal enemy. You were victorious and proved with deeds what the divine Chrysostom said, "angels and martyrs differ in name only." Luminaries? Yes, because right in the midst of the long frigid night of captivity, you with the rays of your martyrdom for Christ, caused the minds of the Orthodox to be illumined more brightly with the knowledge of God, and caused their hearts to be warmed with love and faith in Christ.

Should we name you rivers? Yes! Because with the deluge of your blood, you drowned the error of the unbelievers and you revitalized the faith of the Orthodox, which had almost dried up because it had grown old.

Should we name you doctors? Yes! Who can doubt this?

With the healing power of the Holy Spirit you cure, not only the illnesses of the body, but also the wounds of the souls of those who invoke [your name] in faith.

Should we name you towers of piety? Guardians of the Church of Christ? Most fragrant flowers and roses of Paradise painted with your own blood? Protectors? Helpers? Common saviors of all the Orthodox? In none of these are we wrong, for many are your names and varied are your talents. Great are the praises that you deserve, but none worthy to match your value.

Therefore, restraining our praises with silence and deepest respect, we venerate your holy relics in the same way that we venerate the relics of the Old Martyrs. We kiss your holy face and head which Christ crowned spiritually. For according to the hymn, your face was turned toward Damascus "and your head was covered with dew, and shone like the finest gold and could be called Carmel." We kiss your sweetest mouth with whose blessed voice each of you cried: "I am a Christian, and I will die a Christian!" "Your lips are like flowers and your voice is beautiful" (S. of S. 5:11).

We kiss your holy neck which received the angry blows for the Orthodox faith. "Your neck is like a little harbor" and like a castle of David that was erected as an enormous castle. We respect your hands which were tied with ropes and chains for the love of the Holy Trinity. "There was myrrh dropping from your hard-working hands which looked like little golden harbors."

We bless your legs and feet which were whipped and chained in the name of your sweetest Master. "That your legs are marble columns with golden bases and your feet were covered with your blood, yet how could you contaminate them?" In short, we worship all the parts of your body which suffered so many horrible tortures and with which you pleased Christ, surprised the angels, delighted the saints, wounded the demons, caused sorrow to the unbelievers, gave joy to the Church of Christ, comforted your captive brethren, sanctified their places of martyrdom, blessed today's Christians, and made fragrant the air with the ascent of your souls.

We are not ashamed. No, but on the contrary we are proud to receive your spilled blood and to anoint ourselves with it.

Nor do we decline to take your clothes and the instruments used to make you suffer and keep them as talismans. For we believe that by these we are sanctified in body and soul. We do not see your bodies as dead and empty of souls, but rather envision the omnipotent grace of the Holy Spirit which resides in them and performs the miracles, believing in the divine Chrysostom who says "Do not believe that the naked body of a martyr is emptied of the energy of the soul, but consider this, there is a power present which is superior to that of the soul, namely, the grace of the Holy Spirit" (*First Sermon on Hieromartyr Babylas*). And we are told that just as the divinity of Christ was not separated from His divinely assumed body during His three-day death, so the grace of God was not separated from the relics and bones of the martyrs after their death. According to the divine Gregory of Thessalonike, the veneration of the bodies of the saints and of their relics is proper "because the grace of God was not separated from them just as divinity was not separated from the venerable body of Christ during His life-giving death" (*Dialogue on Christ*). We respect and venerate not only these but we make your icons and we kiss them and thus through them we honor you. We also commemorate your annual feasts "for the memory of the martyrs is a joy for those who fear the Lord."

What reward do we ask of you for all of this? Wholeheartedly intercede to the Holy God so that He will have mercy on our sins, especially for those who respectfully read the accounts of your martyrdoms contained in this book. [Intercede with God] so that He will cease His righteous indignation toward us, and overlook, as a merciful [God], our faults by deed, word, and thought which cause him sorrow. Remind Him of the suffering which you accepted in His name and in this way you will expiate His anger, for truly we have been sorely diminished, mistreated, and lessened among all the nations under this long slavery. [Ask Him] to free us in the present life from every evil of body and soul, and to give us the strength to hold steadfastly all that was taught us on your behalf. In the future life [we ask] that He find us worthy of the kingdom of heaven in Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom belongs all glory and power, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to the ages of ages. Amen.

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REVIEWS

Sacred Stories from Byzantium. By Eva C. Topping. Illustrations by Antonia Mellen. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977. Pp. xiii, 79. Cloth \$5.95. Paper \$3.95.

Eva Topping, a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Lecturer on Greek at the University of Cincinnati, received her B.A. degree from Mary Washington College and her M.A. in Classics from Radcliffe. She also studied at the University of Athens under a Fulbright Scholarship. She has regularly and exuberantly written on Byzantine and Modern Greek poetry, Greek-American history, and American philhellenism. *Sacred Stories from Byzantium* is an excellent example of her concern for the Byzantine heritage which is part of an Orthodox Christian heritage that is rich and valuable even today. In delightful fashion she has culled six of her favorite Byzantine legends from Byzantium's treasury of sacred stories, basing her own retelling of them primarily on the two volumes of the *Synaxaristes* of Nikodemos of Mount Athos (Athens, 1868).

In choosing her six legends and six saints, Eva Topping has included a bishop (St. Tychon of Cyprus), a hermit (St. Gerasimos the Jordanite), a composer (St. John Koukouzeles), a cook (St. Euphrosynos), a poetic genius (St. Romanos Melodos), and a thief (St. Moses the Ethiopian) to illustrate both the personalities of the saints and "Byzantium's perception of life and death, good and evil; her belief in the unity of heaven and earth; her conviction that spirit can triumph over matter" (p. xii). Through these charming stories the reader is given the opportunity to capture something of the hagiography of the Eastern Orthodox Christian world of Byzantium and the moral lessons inherent in them.

Antonia Mellen has simply but richly illustrated the Byzantine sacred stories of this handsomely produced volume. Eva C. Topping has provided a text that will delight and instruct.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Πολίτευμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν: Δοκίμια Θεολογικά καί Ὁδηγητικά. By Elias Mastrogiannopoulos. Thessalonike: P. Pournaras, Publisher, 1975. Pp. 173

This book is a collection of homilies, sermons, and speeches by one of Greece's prominent preachers. The book is written in simple language to edify spiritually the reader who seeks an understanding of the Christian solution to contemporary problems.

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The author discusses the important topics of theology, monastic life, spiritual guidance, education, youth, preparation for marriage and many more! He makes a great deal of use of the religious and secular literature to support his positions.

In one of his discussions of several topics, he points out the importance of the proper place of the lay people in the church. He states that the church can be a dynamic and creative force in the world when the Orthodox people, both men and women, are united with the bishop and proclaim the resurrected Lord in their lives.

Concerning the youth, he refers to several authors and quotes statistics to point out the dangers of several trends in our contemporary society. He discusses the unhealthy, morally sick doctrines of "pansexuality" and narcotics that influence in a bad way the youth of today. He insists that the young people must be protected from the pitfalls of the devil and convince them that the evil forces of today lead to moral destruction of the person.

The author makes strong recommendations for correcting all these moral problems by reading the scriptures and applying the message of the Gospel of Jesus to real life. The ills of our contemporary society must be found and analyzed, and the remedy which is to be found in the life of the Church must be sought. The youth must be educated properly to understand the psychological makeup of the human person and learn the Christian way of life in order to be prepared for a responsible position in life.

This book is very useful for meditation upon various issues in today's society and the Christian's responsibility to witness for the Christian way of life.

George C. Papademetriou

Something is Stirring in World Orthodoxy. By Stanley S. Harakas. Minneapolis: Light and Life Pub. Co., 1978. Pp. 72.

The late Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople called the Church to prepare for a "Great and Holy Council." A great deal of discussion has taken place and many studies have been published in different languages in relation to the forthcoming Great and Holy Council.

The present book by Stanley Harakas is a pleasant welcome to the literature on the Council. Father Harakas states the purpose and analyzes the ten topics of the agenda of the forthcoming Holy Council. The topics that are analyzed in the book are as follows:

"Something is Stirring in World Orthodoxy," where the history for the preparation for the Council is briefly stated; "Topics of World-wide Orthodox Interest," the topics of the Council agenda are listed; "Orthodoxy in Non-Orthodox Lands" where one of the most burning problems of Orthodoxy is analyzed and the author briefly recommends a possible solution; "Making a Church Independent: The Question of Autocephaly," where the author speaks on the proper manner of attaining self-govern-

ment of a local church and avoid confusion; "Is Autonomy the Answer for the American Situation," Orthodoxy in America as semi-independent church is discussed and the solution given "is the combination of relative freedom and a measure of dependence and accountability in the same system"; "The Diptychs": Barometers of Orthodox Unity," where a list of all the leaders in communion with each other which points to the bond of unity of all the local churches; "A Pan-Orthodox Calendar," the author discusses the problems and solution to a common calendar of all Orthodox churches; "Marriage Impediments: Should Ordained Clergy be Able to Marry?," the problem of allowing clergy to marry after ordination has been discussed by several churches that need to bring a common solution; "Fasting: The Rules and Practice," the need for direction as to fasting and preparation for communion is apparent; "Orthodox and the Other Churches," the relation of the church to the Ecumenical Movement is discussed; "Peace, Freedom, Brotherhood, and Love," the topic of Orthodox Christian social ethics is discussed by the author who is professor of Orthodox Christian ethics. Finally, the author confronts the reader personally, "You and the Great and Holy Council," where he suggests a wider discussion on the topics and interest in the preparation of the forthcoming Great and Holy Council.

This book is indeed a very useful book for all those who are interested in Orthodoxy and its future. For Orthodox and non-Orthodox alike it is of interest to see how the church moves to solve the problems of the day and accepts its contemporary challenges.

The book is well written in concise form and clear language for the lay person to understand and the scholar to find authoritative information and facts on the preparation of the "Great and Holy Council."

I most heartily recommend it to Orthodox parishes for group discussions on this important event of our contemporary church.

George C. Papademetriou

Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθήκαι Αὐτοκρατορικαί καί Πατριαρχική καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αὐταῖς Χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς Ἀλώσεως (1453). By Konstantinos A. Manaphes. Athens: Rodis Brothers Press; 1972. Pp. 169.

The special concern for civilization by the Byzantine emperors and the patriarchs, the spiritual needs of those living an ascetic life in the great monastic centers of Byzantium, and the presence of well-educated men in the public service of the same empire were the main reasons for the collection of books and the establishment of libraries in Byzantium.

The Byzantine libraries can be studied under four headings: 1) those related to the emperors, 2) patriarchal, 3) monastic, and 4) private libraries. The first two categories form the subject matter of the present work.

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THE CANONICAL VALIDITY OF MILITARY SERVICE BY ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS

What is the extent, if any, of canonically allowable military service by Orthodox Christians? This question may seem pointless in light of the long, consistent history of such involvement by Orthodox living in various states and under differing political systems. The apparently universal acceptance of military "obligations" by Orthodox individuals and jurisdictions today would further mitigate the significance of the question were it not for the same contemporary circumstances, which require a fresh review of the canonical tradition pertaining to this crucial matter.

That this tradition has been neglected or, still worse, ignored is at least a contention worthy of discussion, if not an obvious fact. For the force of inertia under the guise of custom—and not the living, creative Orthodox canonical tradition—would better account for the disturbing contemporary situation whereby Orthodox Christians serve in the military forces of such disparate governments as "officially" Orthodox Greece, the officially non-Orthodox and non-Christian United States, and the militantly atheistic and Communist Soviet Union! The present study, therefore, proposes to examine those specific canons that relate in any way to the question, especially as it concerns the situation of Orthodox in America, which situation is rather prototypical for Orthodox living elsewhere in the secularized but comparatively politically free Western industrialized states. The American military poses several immediate, though not necessarily insurmountable, difficulties for Orthodox laymen and chaplains that are worth noting and will be discussed in the concluding section following an analysis of the particular canons.

The method of interpretation used herein aims at an understanding of the 'spirit' of the law rather than a simplistic literal-

ism and can be summarized according to four categories¹: (1) the *grammatical*, or the interpretation and translation of the terms and meanings of the original text; (2) the *logical*, or the examination of the relationship of the various component parts of a given canon; (3) the *historical*, or the discovery of the life-situation of the canon's origin and original purpose, and (4) the *systematic*, or the process of locating the canon in the whole canonical and dogmatic Tradition and its interrelationships within that whole. Although this is the general integral approach, it has been adjusted naturally to conform to the exigencies of the particular canons. For example, the precise or probable historical causes of some canons are still shrouded in mystery, while others are so simple and straightforward as to obviate any detailed logical or grammatical analysis. Present in every case, however, are the acute twin problems of accurate translation of key terms and dogmatic import.

A final preliminary note is in order. The analysis of the appropriate canons has been divided into two sections in order both to reflect the actual dual standards pertaining to clergy and laity and to facilitate current application of the canons. The different moral and canonical expectations of the Church for clerics and monks on the one hand and laity on the other, as well as the historical and doctrinal reasons for these, are known and need not be rehearsed here. The stated reasons for the peculiar responsibilities of the clergy vis-à-vis the possibility of military service will become clear in the course of the analysis.

Although only a few canons specifically indicate the necessary posture of clerics with respect to the military, these are unequivocal and leave no room for doubt that no cleric may at any time serve actively in any military capacity. Several other canons deal more broadly with clerical involvement in what is termed "worldly affairs," however, and provide a useful starting point for a systematic appreciation of this proscription.

(1) Canon 6 of the Holy Apostles states succinctly: "Let a bishop, a presbyter, or deacon not undertake worldly cares (*κοσμικὰς φροντίδας*); otherwise, let him be deposed."² One of

1. Lewis J. Patsavos, *The Canon Law of the Orthodox Catholic Church* (unpublished notes, Brookline, Mass., 1975), p. 39.

2. G. A. Ralles and M. Potles, eds., *Synagima of the Divine and Holy Canons* (in Greek), 6 vols. (Athens, 1852), 2:9.

the most ancient apostolic rules, though arranged in its present form as recently as the third century, according to Hefele,³ this canon is perhaps the basis for most of the remaining canons pertaining to clerical involvement in what was deemed strictly secular matters. The vagueness of the 'worldly cares' mentioned here would be more concretely delimited in subsequent canons. The probable underlying reason for this canon, at any rate according to Zonaras and the *Rudder*, was to prevent clerics from being confused, disturbed, or distracted from their proper priestly duties.⁴

(2) Four canons require that clerics not engage in secular economic pursuits.

(a) Canon 16 of Carthage⁵ (ca. 419 A.D.) forbids clerics from becoming farmers (*ἐκλήτορες*—which Zonaras equates with *μισθωταί*, or "tenants," as opposed to landowners⁶) or procurators, and from providing for themselves a livelihood from any "shameful or dishonorable" business, and quotes 2 Tim. 2.4 in support. The *Rudder* incorrectly translates *τροφήν* as "profit," which is too vague a meaning for what is intended—in the same spirit as the previous canon—as a kind of livelihood that at once distracts and detracts from priesthood, especially those "mundane businesses" or shameful occupations like whoremaster or dishonorable ones like tavern owner.⁷ The quote from 2 Tim. 2.4 is particularly intriguing, because it includes a military analogy as a justification for proscribing all such distracting occupations for clerics.⁸

(b) Canon 3 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451 A.D.) is more problematical. The synod relates that some clergy had become tenants of others' properties for the sordid love of gain and had contracted worldly business such as the management of

3. Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*, I, 2nd. rev. ed. (Edinburgh, 1872), 460.

4. The *Rudder* is the great collection of canons and interpretations by the late eighteenth century monks from Mt. Athos, St. Nikodemos and Agapios. I have used the English translation by D. Cummings (Chicago, 1957). The present reference is to *Rudder*, p. 9. John Zonaras, Alexis Aristenus, and Theodore Balsamon were the greatest Byzantine canonists, and all three lived toward the end of the twelfth century. Their commentaries on each canon are available in the original Greek in Ralles and Potles. The present reference is to Ralles and Potles 2:9.

5. Ralles and Potles 3:342; *Rudder* canon 18.

6. Ibid.

7. *Rudder*, p. 615.

8. One who campaigns (*στρατευόμενος*) for God as well as for a commander must be single-minded.

households, while neglecting the Divine Liturgy. Consequently such activities were henceforth forbidden to clerics and monks, except when they were legally bound to a guardianship for minors or when their bishops permitted such care for ecclesiastical business, orphans, widows, etc. and then only out of fear of God and not for avarice or profit.⁹ Here, in contrast to Carthage 18, the motive of profit is cited and condemned, but like that canon there is explicit penalty for violators—though one may assume with the *Rudder* that the penalty of deposition as indicated in canon 6 of the Holy Apostles would obtain.¹⁰ This problem was quite common by the fifth century, and other councils in the West attempted similarly to stem the tide of clerical avarice.¹¹ It is worth noting the exceptions to the general rule adopted by this council and the spirit of economy which prevails through the sanctioning of such possible distractions from priestly duties. In addition, this canon in no wise intends to shut out the clergy from all trades *ipso facto*, for there are numerous examples of clerics who engaged in secular livelihoods usually owing to humility, personal industriousness, or the desire to facilitate almsgiving. As one Anglican canonist noted, “[I]t was not the mere fact of secular employment, but secularity of motives and of tone that was condemned.”¹² This canon, like the others examined thus far, is therefore not so much an ironclad legalistic rule as a guide based on the Orthodox moral principle of intentionality and also on practical considerations such as avoiding unnecessary obstacles to the free exercise of priesthood.

(c) Canon 10 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787 A.D.) attempts to reverse the trend of priests leaving their churches for the special employment of civil magistrates particularly in Constantinople by first referring to the canonical tradition which prohibits clergy by law from undertaking “worldly cares” and those common to life (*βιωτικὰς*—an indirect reference to mundane matters of business that should not occupy a cleric’s time). Then the canon stipulates that any cleric who attends to

9. Ralles and Potles 2:220f.

10. *Rudder*, p. 615.

11. H.J. Schroeder, S.J., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, 1937), pp. 90-92.

12. William Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils*, a nineteenth century work quoted in Henry R. Percival, ed., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church 14, 2nd ser. (repr., Grand Rapids, 1974), pp. 269f.

the care of the magnates (*μειζοτέρων*—whom the *Rudder* identifies as the superintendents of the civil magistrates' *latifundia*, the largest and most profitable estates¹³) should cease or he will be deposed. The reason again is the cleric's own calling and the special need for him to devote his time to teaching children, servants, and slaves of Christians.¹⁴ Note the threat of deposition as a secondary penalty.

(d) Canon 11 of the First and Second Council of Constantinople (861 A.D.) reiterates the traditional deposition of a presbyter or deacon who undertakes worldly offices or cares or the so-called curatories in the houses of secular rulers but also extends these prohibitions to the rest of those included among the clergy (certainly subdeacons and probably lectors, chanters, and exorcists), citing the Lord's injunction in Mt. 6.24 against serving two lords or masters.¹⁵ Thus, any cleric can not hire out as a domestic, financial, or farmland manager at the risk of compromising his loyalty to God and the Church. The severe ramifications inherent in quoting this biblical passage will be discussed at the conclusion of this essay.

(3) Finally, there is another canon which, like the immediate four, amplifies canon 6 of the Holy Apostles but with a specifically political rather than economic thrust. Canon 81 of the Holy Apostles also cites Mt. 6.24, while declaring that a bishop or presbyter should be persuaded not to lower himself to the level of serving in public governments—i.e., offices (*δημοσίας διοικήσεις*)—but instead to attend to ecclesiastical needs; otherwise deposition is in order.¹⁶ The contention of the *Rudder* that this canon prevents clerical involvement generally in political and secular affairs and business" may be too presumptuous, however, because *διοικήσεις* is clearly a reference to a position in government.¹⁷ The canon, therefore, explicitly forbids a cleric (note the absence of any allusion to deacons!) from holding at once a political office and his clerical ordination. This canon, though narrowing the meaning of "worldly cares" in canon 6 of the Holy Apostles, also reveals a more sympathetic and condescending attitude toward the offenders insofar as persuasion is advised and, only failing that,

13. *Rudder*, p. 440.

14. Ralles and Potles 2:587f.

15. *Ibid.* 2:686.

16. *Ibid.* 2:104.

17. *Rudder*, p. 141.

is deposition required. Balsamon's view¹⁸ that this canon is also more "humane" and that the earlier canon should be revised accordingly in its application furnishes a useful interpretative guide especially for dealing with clerics who simultaneously occupy public positions: persuasion first, and deposition only if they persist in such activities. Although the date of this canon is uncertain, it probably originated in the early fourth century. Before the *Pax Constantini* when paganism prevailed it was very dangerous for Christians to accept public office, for those who did were obliged to communicate *in sacris* with pagans. As the Church became more acceptable in the Roman Empire, the Empire became more acceptable not only to laymen but also to bishops and other clerics who began increasingly to seek civil employment. The unfortunate example of Paul of Samosata and his conflict of interest was a dangerous precedent that was not to be followed even in the more benign circumstance owing to the first Christian emperor.¹⁹ In the contemporary world with its dearth of Orthodox Christian empires and states there is at least a disturbingly close parallel, if not a kind of return across the centuries, to the conditions existing before the *Pax Constantini*. This canon would seem to have even greater relevance today than in the Byzantine period!

Two canons plus a *novella* of Justinian alone discuss the clergy and the military, but another canon lays the moral foundation in an indirect though powerful manner. Canon 5 of St. Gregory of Nyssa, from an epistle written in the last quarter of the fourth century, is one of not a few canons which endeavor to distinguish between "voluntary" and "involuntary" murder and to assign appropriate penances.²⁰ There is no explicit mention of military situations, but the canon does include a special condition for clerics. In the translation appearing in the *Rudder* this condition is as follows: "Even though one may involuntarily incur the taint of murder, on the score that he has already been made profane by the felony, the Canon has declared him to have forfeited priestly grace."²¹ The

18. Ralles and Potles 2:105. Zonaras also notes the discrepancy.

19. Hefele 1:489f. This famous heretic served after 160 A.D. simultaneously as bishop of Antioch and secretary of the treasury for Queen Zenobia of Palmyra.

20. Ralles and Potles 4:316. Examples of other canons are 21 and 22 of Ancyra (314 A.D.) and 8, 11, 54, 56, and 57 of St. Basil. Cf. canon 43 of St. Basil which clearly labels as murder any killing—even one in self-defense!

21. *Rudder*, p. 875.

original Greek for the last phrase is ἀπόβλητον ἱερατικῆς χάριτος, which would suggest not so much a forfeit as “a throwing away as worthless” the grace of priesthood. This is no mere nuance, for forfeit could easily imply a surrender of something one already possesses, whereas the alternative translation is more vague and less indicative of a reference to someone who commits an involuntary murder as a priest. The commentators also differ on this score while contributing additional confusion on another. The *Rudder* observes: “Anyone who murders a man, even though involuntarily and against his own will and who is a layman withal, cannot become a priest; or if he is a priest, he is deposed from office.”²² Compare Zonaras’ comment: “And if anyone at least voluntarily kills a man, he will not even obtain priesthood and it will be a throwing away of this since he has been tainted by the murder.”²³ Balsamon’s interpretation is exactly the same as that of Zonaras, except that in lieu of γοῦν ἐκουσίως there is γὰρ ἀκουσίως.²⁴ The difference of only three letters may suggest a problem in textual transmission, for Balsamon has utilized Zonaras’ text itself. Nevertheless, Balsamon’s version fits better than Zonaras’ the immediate context of the commentary and the actual text of the canon itself, both of which focus on involuntary rather than voluntary situations. Therefore, unless Zonaras was attempting to mitigate the severe impact of the canon—whereby a person who kills in *any* circumstance is barred from the priesthood—his text must have been corrupted, for which Balsamon provides the original or a corrected version. At any rate, both Zonaras and Balsamon refer only to a condition which would prevent someone from being ordained and not, as the *Rudder* infers perhaps incorrectly from the text of the canon, also to a situation which leads to deposition of a priest who murders. Actually the thrust of this part of the canon concerns murder as only a preventative obstacle to ordination and then only as a passing incidental aside which does not really fit logically or necessarily the remainder of the canon! The significance of this passage from the canon, however, lies in its view of any murder (compare canon 43 of St. Basil) as an absolute impediment to ordination. By logical extension, therefore, no one who has ever served in a military

22. *Ibid.*, p. 876.

23. *Ralles and Potles* 4:317.

24. *Ibid.* 4:319.

capacity in such a way as to kill someone—and that would include any active line duty during a period of hostilities—could be ordained subsequently to the priesthood. That St. Gregory appears not to include ordained clergy in the passage in question is sufficient to discourage the application of this canon to clerics who are guilty of murder. But other canons explicitly depose priests who are guilty of this offense.²⁵ Under no circumstances then could a prospective or ordained cleric function as a priest if he is implicated in a murder or killing of any kind, thereby excluding military service in its actual rather than merely potential form as readiness for combat from the past history or present life of any cleric. Needless to say, in the Moscow Patriarchate, for example, numerous veterans of past Soviet wars have been ordained in clear violation of this canon and its underlying theological premise—namely, that a priest as an exemplar for the Christian community would be free from all serious or grievous offenses including the taking of a human life for whatever reason.

The directly relevant canons are the following:

(1) Canon 83 of the Holy Apostles unequivocally forbids a cleric (bishop, presbyter, or deacon), under penalty of deposition, from devoting himself or his time to the military or military matters (which implies a preoccupation with such things or as a remote and unlikely possibility, a leisure activity) and from wishing to retain at once the Roman magistracy or office and the priestly government. A quote from Mt. 22.21 supplies the reason: the things of God and of Caesar are separate.²⁶ The *Rudder* indicates that this canon separates imperial and divine matters, or “external and internal [i.e., of the soul and heart] affairs,” and contends that a cleric could not serve both functions at once.²⁷ Historically such a sharp distinction suffered frequent violations not only from clerics but also from

25. Canon 66 of the Holy Apostles deposes a cleric who kills someone by striking him in anger. *Rudder*, p. 114, suggests that the deposition would result if not because of the involuntary murder, then because the cleric had been overcome by the passion of anger! Canon 55 of St. Basil echoes this judgment, although it refers specifically to a killing that results from self-defense during a robbery. But canon 27 of the Holy Apostles goes so far as to depose a cleric simply for striking someone! Violence of any sort, especially that related to killing, is clearly incompatible with the office of priesthood.

26. Ralles and Potles 2:107.

27. *Rudder*, pp. 142f.

Byzantine and Russian emperors who tried to serve a dual function! The "military" to which the canon alludes is not necessarily the actual use of weapons or participation in combat but quite simply, as the *Rudder* suggests, "the management or handling of military matters, such as the distribution of rations to the soldiers, reception of their food, and other such business which is designated by civilians as military matters."²⁸ Zonaras and Balsamon duplicate this opinion, and the latter adds that even he who enlists soldiers falls under the same proscription.²⁹ The broader category of activity is probably truer to this spirit of this canon which refers to the Roman magistracy—an administrative office—rather than to specific ranks or positions in the military itself. It is clear, therefore, that a cleric can take no actions or hold no office whatsoever that could be deemed direct contributions to the normal functioning of the military establishment, whether the canon has in mind the pagan or Christian Roman Empire. This canon also has tremendous import for Orthodox military chaplains, whose functions often include purely administrative or secular military duties imposed by the military command; in keeping with this canon such chaplains should confine their role to sacerdotal activities.³⁰

(2) Canon 7 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council parallels the preceding canon just as canon 3 of the same council parallels or, it is more accurate to state, complements canon 81 of the Holy Apostles.³¹ The present canon states that clerics and monks can neither join the army nor attain to a worldly rank or worth. The penalty is quite severe—anathema!—for those who persist in their decision, failing thereby to repent and to return to their previous calling.³² Several aspects of this canon are worth noting. First, the language, though by no means perfectly clear and explicit, points to clerics who exchange one calling for another, the priesthood for the military.³³ Zonaras infers as

28. *Ibid.*

29. Ralles and Potles 2:107.

30. The issue of Orthodox military chaplains themselves will be addressed below.

31. This does not mean that a causal relationship exists, because the resemblances, though apparent, are not very striking. Cf. Hefele 1:453-56, 490.

32. Ralles and Potles 2:232.

33. Notwithstanding the common use of *σπαρεῖα* as a designation for the military, William Bright in Percival, *Councils*, pp. 272f., argues that here it means "the public service in general," the term itself being a vestigial sign of the military

much from the text when he comments that the clerical offenders are those who desire or lust eagerly after worldly esteem to such an extent that they have stripped off or discarded their sacred outward appearance and assumed military garb.³⁴ Second, the relationship between this canon and canon 83 of the Holy Apostles now becomes clearer. The latter deals with clerics who engage in military matters while wearing clerical garb—i.e., while retaining their priesthood—whereas the present canon addresses those who do so after forsaking their priesthood entirely.³⁵ Third, this distinction accounts for the difference in terms of penalties. Canon 83 of the Holy Apostles deposes priests who abuse their priesthood, but these priests remain in the Church as laymen according to the general canonical principle of only one penalty for an offense; the present canon anathematizes and thereby excommunicates priests who abandon their priestly rank, because they are considered already self-laicized and are punished as laymen to the full extent of the ecclesiastical law.³⁶ The nature of the penalty should suggest how serious this offense was regarded by the council. The Jesuit Schroeder indicates that this canon was renewed in full force in the West at the councils of Angers (453 A.D.) and Tours (461 A.D.).³⁷ In more recent times the dramatic example of the Lutheran minister John Peter Gabriel, who removed his clerical garb before his Pennsylvania congregation to reveal the uniform of an American Revolutionary soldier, would be expressly forbidden by this canon. Similarly, all those

basis of Roman monarchy. He cites in support several examples beginning with St. Constantine's reign of the use of this term as "camp" to designate the court of the emperor; likewise he cites the use of the cognate *σπαρεύεσθαι* to mean holding a place at court. But these examples are quite exceptional. Moreover, canon 3 of the same council already addresses secular business affairs more generally, so the present canon would naturally complement that one by referring obviously to the military itself.

34. Ralles and Potles 2:232f.

35. So Zonaras and *Rudder*, p. 252.

36. Hefele 3:392f. and Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, p. 96. Cf. Zonaras in Ralles and Potles 2:232f., who argues less precisely that such renegade priests were deemed worthy of a chastisement greater than deposition. *Rudder*, p. 252, offers the alternative explanation, based on the reference to repentance in the canon, that such clerics are guilty of the graver sin of unrepentance.

37. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, p. 96. According to Edward H. Landon, *A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church* (London, 1846), pp. 26, 595, canon 5 of that Tours council "excommunicates those who renounce the ecclesiasti-

Orthodox clerics who devoted themselves to military pursuits in the armies of various forces such as the White Army in the Russian Civil War or the Soviet Army during the Second World War would also stand under judgment.

(3) Though not a canon in the strict sense, *novella* 123(15) of Justinian dating from 544 A.D. bears a striking resemblance to the preceding canon, to which it was most certainly indebted. As a civil law regulating ecclesiastical affairs, this *novella* retains a special historical value as an indication of how the canonical tradition (and that relating to the military in particular) influenced the government and was in turn influenced by the government. This particular law along with other promulgations by Byzantine emperors also maintains at least a secondary canonical status even for the purposes of current application. The appropriate passage is here translated and presented in full:

And generally we ordain by law that it is lawful for no one in an ecclesiastical rank at some time with respect to existing laws to withdraw from it and to become worldly, although the ones doing so are capable, because they will be stripped also of the belt, either of rank or of the military that is likely laid upon them, and they will be handed over to the chance of the council of their own city. And [we ordain by law] that those who were ordained clergy before our law by reason of the good fortune of a council supply the financial public services through substitute persons and in order to be kept free from the things of the body.³⁸

The unique aspects of this law are, first, its justification for keeping the clergy away from worldly military activities—namely, that such are things pertaining to the body (perhaps a neoplatonic twist to the customary distinction between the priestly and worldly functions)—and, second, the nature of the

cal state,” while canon 7 of that Angers council simply forbids clerics “to occupy themselves with any secular business.” If these two canons do not even allude to the military, then Schroeder may be guilty of exuberant overstatement.

38. Iustinianus, *Corpus iuris civilis*, 3 (*Novellae*), ed. Rudolfus Schoell (Berlin, 1895), 606.

penalty. The law goes so far as to allow clerics interested in public service to fulfill their personal sense of obligation to the commonweal through proxies, as it were. But infringements of this law are handled severely, if the judgments of secular city councils on such presumably self-laicized clerics were as stern as one may suppose. This particular feature of the law would have no relevance today, however, for the city governments in all countries save Greece are, unlike their counterparts in Justinian's time, quite non-Orthodox, so no Orthodox cleric should be delivered to one by the Church for punishment.³⁹

If the military in any capacity is strictly off-limits for Orthodox clergy, then does the same situation obtain for laymen? As clear and decisive as the canonical tradition is for clergy, for laymen it is much more ambivalent. Again only a few canons specifically address the issue of military service, but their overall impact for their original historical settings as well as for today is rather problematical.

Three canons and a *novella* allude briefly to Christians in military service. Canon 41 of the Holy Apostles contains a concluding passing reference to the fact that soldiers are paid to bear arms. This analogy serves as a justification both for a bishop having authority over the property of the Church and for clergy to be paid from such material holdings ("at the altar's expense").⁴⁰ In canon 36 of St. Basil, *novella* 117(11) of Justinian,⁴¹ and canon 93 of the Penthecte Council (692 A.D.) the problem of remarriage for the wives of missing soldiers and of other missing husbands is treated very cursorily. Such a soldier's wife is given greater deference than usual if she decides to remarry, owing to the greater likelihood of her husband's having died. But a soldier who "should ever return in time" still reserves the right to take back his wife, who then would be pardoned along with her second husband.⁴² In either of the situations addressed by these three canons and one civil law the soldier's profession is discussed matter-of-factly, and even with

39. Nor should the councils in Greece itself enjoy any privileges with respect to clergy in light of the recent vicious political trends in that country.

40. Ralles and Potles 2:57. Ironically there is no mention whatsoever of the military analogy in the commentaries by Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus.

41. Iustinianus, *Corpus iuris civilis* 3:561f.

42. Rudder, p. 818.

some special respect in the case of returning "M.I.A.'s," as it were. The allusions are too brief and sketchy, however, to read much more out of them than a simple acceptance, if not necessarily a hearty approval, of the reality of Christian laymen serving in the imperial military.

Among the three canons that deal with Christians in the military in some depth there is an extraordinary range of orientations and significances.

(1) Canon 12 of the First Ecumenical Council (325 A.D.) is directed implicitly against those Christian soldiers who had re-entered the army of Licinius and thereby gave overt support to his virulently anti-Christian pagan cause. For they had been summoned by the grace (an intriguing use of the personal agent, suggesting God Himself!) and had consequently responded at first enthusiastically in faith and nobility by putting aside their military belts; as the *Rudder* comments, they "displayed at first courage and eagerness for martyrdom."⁴³ Some of them lost their initial courage, however, and even squandered money and succeeded in returning to the army by means of benefices (*βενεφικίους*—a Latin loan word meaning monetary gifts). That the council regarded this as a most grievous offense is obvious from the violent language borrowed most likely from 2 Pet. 2:22 and Prov. 26:11—such men had returned, as dogs, to their own vomit!⁴⁴ The remainder of this canon outlines appropriate penitential procedures.⁴⁵ The essential point for the purposes of this essay is that the canon does not condemn military service or enlistment per se but only a particularly abusive form of it that resulted in apostasy.⁴⁶ Licinius had assumed the role of defender of the dying Roman paganism against the new threat posed by his fellow emperor St. Constantine the Great. Licinius required all his soldiers, therefore, to renounce Christianity unconditionally by participating in pagan religious sacrifices, and all who refused to do so were summarily excluded from his army.⁴⁷ It would seem to be a serious compromise for

43. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

44. Ralles and Potles, 2:140f.

45. *Rudder*, p. 183, suggests, I think correctly, that this part of the canon establishes the principle that a spiritual father can adjust a prescribed penance to the extent of an offender's genuine repentance.

46. So Hefele 1:418f. and Bright in Percival, *Councils*, pp. 28f.

47. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, pp. 41f. The original source of this informa-

a Christian simply to have remained in such an army, so how much worse an enormity was the action of those who, having already committed themselves to an honorable course, reneged on that commitment to Christ and sought to regain their former positions by resorting to bribery! These individuals naturally were viewed as *lapsi*,⁴⁸ especially in contrast to more honorable men such as the noble Auxentius, one of Licinius' notaries who also put aside his belt—his badge of office—when the emperor ordered him to place a bunch of grapes before a statue of the god Bacchus in the palace court, and who endured in his courage though he was not even a soldier.⁴⁹ Yet the indignation of the council, though great, was certainly not excessive, as the flexible penances indicate. If there is any permanent moral relevance to this canon in addition to its historical value (a supposition that in this instance may be tenuous at best), it is the necessity for ascertaining the specific nature of the military in which a Christian serves: not any army is worth joining, and indeed the moral and religious quality of an army and the state or government which it purports to defend is clearly at issue. By this standard—again if a generalization is possible—service in a military setting that requires the renunciation or suppression of one's Orthodox faith would be out of the question.

A valuable insight into the spirit of this canon is afforded by canon 3 of the Council of Arles (314 A.D.). This general council of the West was held by St. Constantine in response to the Donatist controversy, and, although it is not authoritative for the Orthodox Church, it does furnish a useful historical index to the changing relationship between the Church and the Roman Empire in transition. Canon 3 of Arles reveals dramatically the effect that St. Constantine's Christian vision and new attitude toward the Church from 312 A.D. had on the attitude of at least part of the Church at that time toward the empire and its military establishment. For the first time in Christian history a council proclaimed in a canon that the Roman army (under St. Constantine, to be sure) was not only an acceptable but also an essential prerequisite for maintaining the life of the

tion is the contemporary account of Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.8 and *Vita Constantini* 1.54.

48. Hefele 1:418f.

49. Bright in Percival, *Councils*, pp. 28f.

Church in the world. The actual text of this Latin canon is terse and perhaps seemingly vague: "That he who in peace throws down arms is excommunicated."⁵⁰ But its meaning in light of its historical circumstances seems clear. A certain Aubespine contends, according to Hefele, that the canon seeks to terminate the practice of many Christians who conscientiously refused to serve in or deserted the military of the former pagan emperors. The new situation under St. Constantine encouraged the council to oblige Christians to serve in war, because the Church was now at peace under a ruler who was favorable to the Church.⁵¹ The only problem with this interpretation is the metaphorical understanding of *in pace*, which expression probably means ironically what is more obvious—namely, a period of time free from wars. If this is correct, then the canon takes for granted the necessity for bearing arms in wartime and argues strenuously (note the penalty of excommunication) in behalf of Christians serving in the military on a more permanent and unconditional basis—i.e., in what is called today a standing army! The joy and hope that the bishops saw in St. Constantine's rising star could have led to such a radical shift in viewpoint.

(2) Tucked almost inconspicuously in the body of canon 1 of St. Athanasios is a remarkably profound and significant argument in behalf of the exceptional nature of killing in war. In short, the passage represents a nascent form of a kind of "just war" theory. To be sure, this argument surprisingly serves merely as an analogy to the more immediate concern of St. Athanasios to convince the monk Amun (to whom this canon was written as an epistle in 354 A.D.) of the contextual or circumstantial moral significance of certain problems pertaining to sexual purity. But the small passage in question has been far more influential than perhaps even the great Alexandrian ever dreamed and is hereby rendered in full:

It is not lawful to murder, but in war [it is] both lawful and worthy of approval to destroy the adversaries. Thus at any

50. Hefele 1:185f.

51. Ibid. Hefele also notes that textual variants read *in bello* for *in pace*, and that a more accurate interpretation concerns the *spectacula*, or gladiator fights and other coliseum events, which the canon hereby prohibits. But I think Aubespine is closer to the truth.

rate those who are bravest in war are also deemed worthy of great honors, and monuments of them are raised proclaiming their successes; so that the same thing, on the one hand, is not lawful according to something and at some time, but on the other hand according to something [else] and opportunely it is permitted and also possible.⁵²

Among the commentaries only the *Rudder* makes any interpretative observations, but these unfortunately are not really faithful to the actual text of the canon. The contention, for example, that this canon only permits killing in war against "enemies of the faith"⁵³ may be a valid extrapolation (as I myself shall argue presently), but it limits the rather indefinite use of *τοὺς ἀντιπόλους*. St. Athanasios may be asserting in this canon the general validity of killing in war regardless of the nature of the adversaries, or, conversely, he may be assuming that by this time adversaries of the Christianized Roman Empire were enemies of the faith. One may presume the latter as does the *Rudder*, provided that one also respects the possible ramifications of the vagueness of the actual text. The *Rudder* also contends that the present passage is proffered by the saint as an example of how the same thing can be sometimes "good" and sometimes "evil."⁵⁴ But it is extremely doubtful that St. Athanasios intends such an absolute moral distinction. A better antinomy that is loyal to the text would be lawful versus unlawful, or permissible versus not permissible, for this would still allow for some moral doubt as to the goodness of killing even in war, a doubt that seems mandatory in light of St. Athanasios' own life and thought as well as other canons concerning murder which have been discussed above.

Indeed, the distinction between killing in war and killing in other situations became a classic moral argument and entered the mainstream of Orthodox Tradition. This argument bears a striking formal parallel to the classic statement of St. Maximos the Confessor in the seventh century that "nothing among creatures is evil except misuse."⁵⁵ This suggests that under

52. Ralles and Potles 4:69.

53. *Rudder*, p. 762.

54. *Ibid.*

55. St. Maximos the Confessor, *The Four Centuries of Charity* 3.4f., trans. Polycarp Sherwood, *Ancient Christian Writers* 21 (Westminster, Md., 1955), pp. 173f.

certain conditions even killing in war could have a salutary effect and therefore be lawful. For the action itself is fundamentally neutral and requires a personal intention in order for it to acquire a value.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, this involves no arbitrary justifications; for certain acts such as rape or physical torture can never have a noble intention attached to them. The concept of intentionality applies only to those actions capable of sustaining a noble intention. Since it involves the shedding of blood, maiming, and the destruction of lives and property, war unquestionably is an unmitigated evil event unless there is also involved as a motivation some greater good such as the defense of innocent otherwise defenseless persons and the protection of the honor of the faith from desecration. Granted on the individual level one must suffer injustice without submitting or rebelling violently, but what is one's moral obligation to another person in duress? Specifically, unless *all* men are called to suffer any and all outrages individually and willingly, how else can a Christian save his neighbor from abuse or harm if not by intervening actively? On a large scale nations assume this responsibility for those individuals who live within their borders. Such is the peculiar quality of these collective societies that they must assume the burden of protecting each person from outside harm. Often this amounts to war. Although the Church must always be pacifist by nature, in the Orthodox Christian state and also in those at least ostensibly not hostile to Orthodoxy the national government must adopt whatever measures are necessary to ensure the well-being of the Church and the life of its total population. In either case war assumes the proportions of an evil assuredly lesser than that posed by the external threat. In no wise, however, can war be an occasion for militarism, triumphalism, or joy. Rather it is always an occasion for sorrow and pity. And although Christian laymen may engage in such warfare and even receive "great honors" for "their successes," as St. Athanasios indicates, their endeavors are never wholly without some ecclesiastical disapproval.

(3) The final canon reveals the poignant truth of the last statement. Canon 13 of St. Basil reads in its entirety as follows:

56. *Ibid.*, 2.36f., p. 160.

Our Fathers did not reckon as murders the murders in wars, it seems to me, giving a pardon to those who defend themselves (τοῖς ... ἀμυνομένοις⁵⁷) in behalf of moderation and piety. But perhaps it is well to advise that they abstain from the communion alone for three years, since their hands are not clean.⁵⁸

Writing sometime in the 370's A.D., St. Basil certainly has in mind the previous canonical epistle among other patristic testimonies no longer extant. Several points deserve special attention by way of contrast to canon 1 of St. Athanasios. First, St. Basil explicitly provides a particular condition for the traditional justification for killing in war—the defense of piety and moderation (or order). Not only does this qualify the indefinite quality of “the adversaries” to whom St. Athanasios alludes, but it also furnishes an authoritative guide for conduct in wars in keeping with the discussion of intentionality elsewhere in the present essay. Thus, Balsamon agrees with the expressed necessity for defending “the faithful about to be taken prisoner” by infidels in a given war.⁵⁹ And the *Rudder* boldly outlines the result of pacifism in the face of external threats: “For, if once the barbarians and infidels should succeed in gaining the upper hand, neither piety will be left, since they disregard it and seek to establish their own wicked faith and bad belief, nor sobriety and maintenance of honor, seeing that their victory would be followed by many instances of violation and ravishment of young women and of young men.”⁶⁰ Incidentally, if “barbarians” such as the Moslems were perceived as such, one wonders what horrific images would have been conjured up in the face of the far greater dangers represented by Nazism and Communism! Second, the suggested penance entails exclusion from the eucharist alone and not expulsion from the Church altogether or reduction to the status of catechumens or *audientes*. A close parallel to this advice including the given reason of moral pollution caused by war, as a recent editor of the *Rudder* illustrates, can be found in Num. 31.19, 24, where the

57. As the present participle of ἀμύνω in the middle voice, this can be translated as I have done or, far less likely, as “those who avenge themselves.”

58. Ralles and Potles 4:131.

59. Ibid. 4:132f.

60. *Rudder*, p. 801.

Jews must undergo purification for seven days after fighting a war against the Midianites, notwithstanding the Lord's own command in Num. 31.2 that the Jews take such revenge in the first place!⁶¹ Nevertheless, Zonaras and Balsamon regard this penance as excessive and irrelevant, respectively. Zonaras views a three-year excommunication from the eucharist as unfairly burdensome and an unbearable punishment for Christians who performed so noble a service. For Christian soldiers, particularly the bravest, would never be able to partake of the sacrament throughout their entire military service because of the frequency of wars.⁶² In a much less defiant tone Balsamon coolly (and erroneously, one should add) asserts that this canon is inoperative, or does not work, because the soldiers are too frequently busy with warfare and the task of destroying enemies to happen to partake of the holy mysteries.⁶³ Despite the severity even of the exceptional, modified penance that St. Basil recommends, there is no compelling reason why it should be discarded or reduced in general practice. To be sure, it creates a paradox in that the most valiant and heroic among the soldiers in combat would continue to deprive themselves of the sacrament. This is a strange reward indeed for those who serve the Church in times of dire peril, and military or public decorations and awards are hardly as rewarding in the best sense as full communion with the Lord and His Church. But such is the anomalous nature of the soldier's profession which St. Basil takes great pains to declare. As necessary and honorable as the military profession is, it is so only in a relative manner, for even morally justifiable killing leaves a moral stain. And the Church can never offer its wholehearted, unqualified approval and praise for those who undertake such a dirty albeit mandatory business.

The third and last point concerns the unusual advisory character of the suggested penance. The *Rudder* observes that the penance therefore is not a definitive canon but simply "an advisory and indecisive suggestion," and Zonaras feels confident that in opposing the penance he is not violating an injunction.⁶⁴

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 802-03 n. Philo Judaeus perceptively interpreted this requirement to mean that killing another human being in war was at once lawful and a sin and crime.

62. Ralles and Potles 4:131f.

63. *Ibid.* 4:132f.

64. *Rudder*, pp. 801f.; Ralles and Potles 4:131.

But it is likely that St. Basil has qualified his recommendation in deference to the earlier patristic tradition with respect to which he may appear as an innovator. And although this particular penance may not have been prevalent, as Zonaras thinks, that the Church did eventually accept St. Basil's "advice" as a definitive canon is demonstrated by a dramatically decisive event during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969 A.D.), who was famous for both his military and pseudo-monastic exploits.⁶⁵ According to accounts by Zonaras and Balsamon,⁶⁶ when that emperor demanded that those who had been killed in wars be honored and hymned along with other martyrs for the faith, the "hierarchs" declared that such men were not righteous enough to be so honored. Then having failed to convince the emperor, they proclaimed on the basis of the present canon, "How do we number with the ones who witnessed (i.e., the martyrs) those who have fallen in wars whom the great Basil hindered from the holy things for three years, since their hands are not clean?" The fact that the Patriarchate of Constantinople was able thereby to stand firm successfully in their resistance to the wishes of the emperor⁶⁷ is less important for the purposes of this essay than the use of canon 13 of St. Basil as an unquestionable precedent. The courageous fidelity to principle displayed by those bishops behooves spiritual fathers who need not withstand the pressures and stratagems of a powerful, resolute Byzantine emperor to enforce this canon no less confidently.

In receiving and applying all the foregoing canons as both legal precedents and moral precepts, one can only conclude, on the basis of their prevailing spirit, that the Church recognizes need for military *defense* and not conquest, to be sure, but merely tolerates it as an unfortunate reality and necessary evil lesser in scope than unwarranted moral or physical destruction.

65. A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1 (Madison, Wisc., 1958), 334-38.

66. Ralles and Potles 4:132f.

67. Balsamon in Ralles and Potles 4:132f adds that different priests and "a certain bishop" concurred with the emperor's position and even promised to engage and destroy enemies, and that the more militant among them determined that they were worthy also of the prizes of the games (*βρεβελίων*—the Roman athletic meets). The patriarchal synod consequently decided to depose these clerics in accordance with the present canon and canon 43 of St. Basil.

Perhaps a cynic would suggest that the Church in the modern world could have its cake and eat it, too, by letting only non-Orthodox do the fighting in behalf of countries where Orthodox Christians reside, thereby reaping the benefits of such military defense without paying the cost of the inevitable moral compromise that is entailed in warfare. But such a posture would itself be sinfully self-preserving, evangelically a reprehensible lack of witness, a denial of the Church's place in the world in order to bring the world as it is to Christ as He is, and inordinately rigorous in light of the canons discussed in this essay. For paradoxically these canons collectively locate the responsibilities of individual Christians, if not the Church as a whole, squarely on the front lines of battle against those forces which seek to destroy faith and order. Any contrary view would be quixotic and/or needlessly self-destructive.

But not all Christians must or can assume such a heavy, costly burden. The canons are explicit in forbidding clerics any active military role or any activity that could be construed as "military." In order to preserve their sacred calling or priesthood free from unnecessary confusion, distractions, or conflicts of interest and of loyalties, clerics can in no wise serve in such "worldly" capacities as public office-holders, procurators, tenants of others' properties, domestic managers, etc.—in other words, the full gamut of socially prestigious political and business positions that were current in the Byzantine Empire, in addition to more dubious ones like "whoremaster"! This proscription obtains particularly when the motivations of such clerics are due to avarice, vainglory, or a desire for an excessively comfortable material existence. It goes without saying, although several canons take great pains to do so, that clerics are similarly barred from serving as conventional military personnel in uniform, for whom killing in war is a mandatory duty, especially if they abandon thereby their clerical office, nor can they engage in activities of a more discrete nature that nevertheless contribute significantly to the functioning of a military system *qua* military. Included in the latter category would be such adjunct or secondary duties as facilitating enlistments and re-enlistments, administration of military organizations or operations, or even the somewhat routine and seemingly innocuous practice of information-gathering and its attendant

bureaucratic paper-work. And this leads directly to the issue of military chaplains, who often find themselves expected to function in precisely these ways. At least one Orthodox canonist has raised the question of whether clerics serving as chaplains in military uniform and therefore as officers of various ranks contradicts the canons forbidding clerics to join the military.⁶⁸ This is indeed a valid and troublesome question but one for which a reasonable answer can be deduced from the appropriate canons. Although canon 7 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council excoriates those clerics who, as has been interpreted above, assume "military garb," the essential point is that in so doing the clerics in question historically also became full-fledged soldiers even to the extent of forsaking their priestly functions. Certainly an economic application of this canon, if not a strict adherence to it, would allow for clerics to become military chaplains in the American manner, for example, as long as their *only* functions are pastoral. Pressures from any source to the contrary must be resisted; a chaplain who regards himself as a military officer first and a priest second, or who acts accordingly despite his private self-image, is of little use to the Church or to the military, which could just as well pay a combat-qualified active duty line officer the same commission. In order to eliminate the possibility of conflicts of loyalty and of too cozy an identification with the military, this canon as well as the others might be followed with more exactness, granted, of course, that the Fathers of the Fourth Council could not have foreseen the unique possibility of pastoral service afforded by the institution of the military chaplaincy. In that event it might prove more satisfactory for Orthodox chaplains not to become uniformed officers nor to commence any organic relationship with the American military but rather to serve "out of uniform" as special non-ranking liaisons between the Church at large and Orthodox service men with the approval, cooperation, and perhaps subsidy of the military and United States Defense Department.

The only persons canonically permitted to serve in conventional military capacities are laymen. But theirs is, as has been shown, a bittersweet lot. For the greater good of the Church

68. Ioannis E. Anastasiou, "Can All the Ancient Canons Be Valid Today?" *Kanon* 1 (1973), 37.

and the maintenance of order some Orthodox laymen may and must accept the dubious responsibility of military defense with the very real possibility that they will be required to engage in combat and kill other human beings. The personal dilemma is more acute than ever in America now that the selective service system has been scuttled at least temporarily. Military service is strictly voluntary, so an Orthodox layman must consciously and freely choose to serve in the armed forces of his nation. If the penitential advice contained in canon 13 of St. Basil is to be enforced currently as in the past, as I think it should, then such Orthodox soldiers as have actually killed an enemy soldier or civilian must endure the special three-year excommunication from the eucharist. This is necessary, however harsh it may appear, in order to help the soldiers themselves and the entire community of the faithful maintain a proper moral perspective. Nevertheless, Orthodox laymen who persist undaunted in fulfilling this special obligation warrant to take upon their own souls the stain and penalties resulting from killing in war. In this respect a more economic application of St. Basil's penance would be in order for those soldiers who have suffered seriously debilitating or mortal wounds: what priest would begrudge these persons the healing sacraments of the eucharist and unction?

The unabashed use of Mt. 6.24 and Mt. 22.21 in some canons as an argument in favor of distinguishing the clerical from "worldly" states such as the military raises the complicated issue of the nature of the governments which Orthodox laymen in various military forces can or can not serve. An adequate discussion of this issue is well beyond the scope of the present essay, but a couple of questions might spur further discussion elsewhere. First, if the conciliar Fathers in their divinely inspired wisdom saw fit to characterize the Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire in the same antinomical contrasts to God that our Lord Jesus Himself used to refer metaphorically to the pagan world of His time (i.e., "mammon" and "Caesar"), then how does this augur for the current status of the Church in a non-Orthodox world that seemingly has reverted to a neo-paganism under the guise of secularism? More specifically, if the Fathers of the canons viewed their own very Orthodox empire from at least an arm's length, does this mean that Ortho-

dox living in decidedly non-Orthodox or even anti-Orthodox modern states should manifest greater reserve in cooperating with the militaries of those states? Second, do these changed and certainly unforeseen political conditions imply that the canonical tradition pertaining to military service may be no longer wholly relevant?

Without embarking on lengthy detailed justifications, I suggest that the answer to these questions is in both cases a very qualified "yes." The Orthodox Christian state is rapidly becoming a relic of the past. The new wave of virulently anti-Christian governments, most of which are Communist, has thrown the Church into a new quandary that curiously has the familiar quality of an old predicament. But this is no mere *déjà-vu*. For the Church faces a post-Christendom world increasingly hostile and exceedingly more precarious than the pagan civilization into which it was born two millenia ago. In this truly unprecedented situation the canonical formulations of a comparatively calmer, more secure era may not suffice in their exact meanings in each particular contemporary setting; judicious economy with a view toward fidelity to the more exacting overall moral tradition of the Church must be exercised. In countries such as the Soviet Union, for example, a strict application of the canons permitting military service to laymen would be worse than an anachronism: it would amount to an impious, perverse contribution to the same demonic forces that are hell-bent on eliminating the last vestiges of Christianity and morality from the face of the earth! Even in the relatively God-fearing United States the Orthodox Church is not entirely free from danger. The curiously unofficial nature of support for personal religiousness that is provided through the auspices of the "non-sectarian" military establishment somehow safeguards the separation of church and state in America. But there are pressures nevertheless exerted toward "ecumenical" forms and practices which are deemed beneficial by both the military upper echelons and the non-Orthodox religious communities (and, regrettably, by most Orthodox jurisdictions also).⁶⁹ Such

69. For an example of a very helpful guide for Roman Catholics in the American military, especially in terms of the rather unique ecumenical, sexual, and moral problems posed by military life, see Francis J. Connell, *Morals in Politics and Professions: A Guide for Catholics in Public Life* (Westminster, Md., 1955), pp. 37-49. Much of

circumstances plus the politically left-ward and increasingly immoral drift of American society and its government do not bode well for the future of an Orthodox presence in the American military or for Orthodoxy in America generally. The time may in fact be imminent when all that has been said above with respect to Orthodox laymen and chaplains in the American military and in accordance with the canons will need to be drastically revised and the significance of those canons for the American situation minimized or negated. That is not to say, however, that these canons would lose their inherent validity or be worthy of being discarded or relegated to the dubious level of "historical" interest alone.⁷⁰ Quite to the contrary, the canons discussed in this essay, just as it is also true for so many others, always will retain their inherent worth as moral expressions of the minimal requirements and conditions for relationships between Orthodox Christians and the militaries of their respective states, even if an exact or strict application of these canons may not always be advisable or possible in situations unanticipated by the same canons.

As long as there are wars and Orthodox Christians willing to fight in them, these moral guides—and any additional canons that a future, properly convened ecumenical council may adopt—will continue to be the key to conscientious military service.

what Connell says about the unique problems of Roman Catholics has greater validity ironically for Orthodox Christians. Unfortunately there is no such guide written by an Orthodox for Orthodox laymen.

70. Consequently, I reject categorically the contention by Fr. John Meyendorff, "Contemporary Problems of Orthodox Canon Law," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17 (1972), 43, that "only those canons which can be directly or indirectly referred to the concrete situation *today*, can retain validity," or the bold claim by Nicholas N. Afanasiev, "The Canons of the Church: Changeable or Unchangeable?" *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 11(1967), 62, that all canons "are relevant only for their own age." For some canons such as those pertaining to the *lapsi*, though seeming to have no relevance to concrete situations today according to some observers, may indeed have remarkable currency in a world in which Communist persecution of Christians and others has at least equalled that of the pagan Caesars. Or failing that possibility, there may occur in the future a situation sufficiently parallel to the original one concerning the *lapsi* so as to warrant the direct application of those canons. At the very most one could assert that certain canons should be held in abeyance to await any possible immediate relevance in the future. But all talk of eliminating certain so-called "obsolete" canons permanently from the operative canonical corpus is better avoided.

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Included among these states is the Vatican, which stands both for a political entity and a Church. A word is said on the three monotheistic religions existing in the area: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The greatest part of the pages is dedicated to the study of present day Turkey.

The second book has the title *Rome and the Churches of the Orient, seen by a Latin from the Orient*, and again is a collection of articles, of book reviews, of lectures, of biographies, of letters, and of translations in French, which have appeared for a period of almost ten years (1961 - 1971) in the French daily of Istanbul *Le Journal d'Orient*.

The book bears a strong personal character, because the author does not fail repeatedly to refer to his environment, his family, and himself. He likes to use the language and wear the mantle of an ecumenist, while his other characteristics of the lawyer, the diplomat, the historian come out as well.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Ἡ Θέσις καί ἡ Διακονία τῶν Λαϊκῶν ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.
By Ioannes N. Karmires. Athens, 1976. Pp. 55.

Professor Karmires, a member of the Academy of Athens and professor emeritus of the University of Athens, published in 1973 a study twice the length of the present study on the same topic: *Πληρεστέρα Συμμετοχή τοῦ Λαικοῦ Στοιχείου ἐν τῇ Λατρευτικῇ καί τῇ Ἀλλῇ Ζωῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1973).

In the present work. Professor Karmires presents us, in addition to the Prolegomena, four compact chapters: "Introductory Notes on the Place and the Diakonia of the Laymen in the Church, in General," "Fuller Participation of Laymen in the Educational and Missionary Work of the Church," "Fuller Participation of Laymen in the Liturgical Life of the Church," and "Fuller Participation of Laymen in the Administrative and Social Diakonia of the Church."

The place and the ministry of the laity within the Church constitutes one of the major problems the Church is confronted with today. Dr. Karmires' study is a welcome Orthodox contribution on this subject by an eminent Orthodox theologian.

Vasil T. Istavridis

Ἑλληνική Βιβλική Βιβλιογραφία, 1961 - 1975. By Ioannes Karavidopoulos. Thessalonike, 1977. Pp. 118.

The author of this bibliographical guide is Professor of New Testament studies in the School of Theology, University of Thessalonike. The *Greek Biblical Bibliography* has a preface in Greek and English, several indices, the bibliography proper, and the contents.

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Errors in vol. XXIII, No. 2 (1978) of the Review

Footnotes 31 and 32 in Demetrios J. Constantelos's article "Jews and Judaism in the early Greek Fathers" were inadvertently omitted by the printer. They should have appeared as follows:

- 31 For a modern Greek Orthodox attitude toward Judaism and a discussion of Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations see the special issue of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 22, 1 (1977); also G.C. Papademetriou, "Jewish Rite in the Christian Church: Ecumenical Possibility," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 26, 4 (1973), pp. 466-87; *Idem.*, "Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy" *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 21, 2 (1976), pp. 93-113; P. Simotas, "Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy," in Greek, *Theologia*, 42 (1971), pp. 354-66.
- 32 I Pet. 2:9

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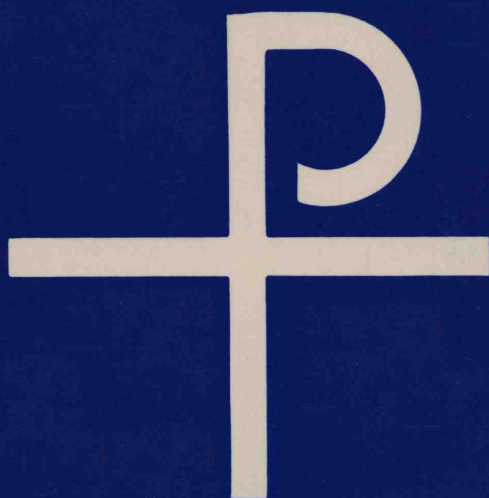
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A Man Sent by God: The Life of Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople. By Demetrios Tsakonas. Translated by George Angeloglou. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977. Pp. x, 99. Frontispiece and 15 plates. Paper. \$3.95.

The distinguished sociologist and former Greek Minister of Education, Professor Demetrios Tsakonas, originally published his popular biography of the late Patriarch Athenagoras I (1886-1972) in 1976 (Athens, Delta Editions) under the title *Athenagoras the Ecumenical of New Ideas*. It is most appropriate that the Holy Cross School of Theology, which Archbishop Athenagoras founded forty years ago, should take on the responsibility of publishing the first English edition of this work. It discusses the life and work of the late Patriarch, whom Dr. Tsakonas describes as "a prototype depicting the perfection of a classical Greek statue and at the same time portraying the superb spirituality of a Byzantine icon. He was a Delphic charioteer and a biblical Noah, but with a humility which he displayed even to the most humble of men" (p. 6).

The present biography is not the definitive scholarly publication that is needed. Nevertheless, drawing upon various sources, public and private, it presents us with a loving, even highly personal picture of the 268th Archbishop of Constantinople, Ecumenical Patriarch and spiritual leader of world Orthodoxy.

Accused by his critics of being Muslim, Protestant and Catholic, pro-American, pro-Turkish, and pro-Russian, the late Patriarch Athenagoras defied all attempts by detractors to typecast him and remained to the end pro-Christian in the best sense of the word. He believed firmly in the teaching that God is love and that, as a hierarch and a Christian, it was incumbent upon him to love all his fellow human beings, no matter what their race, creed or color. Professor Tsakonas clearly demonstrates throughout the book that this was the dominant principle guiding His All-Holiness throughout his life, whether in Corfu, New York or Istanbul. Certainly the other notable feature of his ministry was to take seriously the designation 'Ecumenical' and to promote ecumenical relations with Protestants (both through and outside of the World Council of Churches, which he supported in deed as well as in spirit), Roman Catholics (both at the Vatican and throughout the world), and non-Christians. In all of this activity, he did not neglect his own fellow Orthodox, but rather strove to promote Orthodox Christianity and to lead his co-religionists into a contemporary world that was eager to engage in dialogue. Formalities did not stand in his way; for Patriarch Athenagoras, getting Christians to speak to each other in an irenic fashion and in the spirit of Christian love was foremost, if the rent Body of Christ was ever to be mended. Though himself the most progressive of all Orthodox clergymen of this century, he was in his own personal life the model of simple, humble

living, a most monastic servant of God. He had a particular love for the poor, the weak, and the suffering. When Pope Paul VI saw the extremely humble room at the Patriarchate in Istanbul in which he lived (sixteen square meters), he is reported to have exclaimed, "You must have been a martyr to have lived in such a room for twenty years!" The most junior clergyman, Orthodox or Catholic, would have boasted of more handsome, more worldly accommodations, but that was not what Patriarch Athenagoras valued.

Patriarch Athenagoras had four basic aims when he ascended the Ecumenical throne of Constantinople: (1) the reorganization of the Archdiocese of Constantinople and all the dioceses of the Diaspora; (2) the securing of Pan-Orthodox unity and cooperation; (3) cooperation with all Christian Churches—East and West—for the ultimate purpose of the union of all Christianity; and (4) the peaceful and harmonious existence of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean through the creation of dual and multi-national federations intended to combat racial discrimination and social injustice.

The reader could well characterize Professor Tsakonas' book as an interpretive biography whose main thrust follows the four main goals set by Patriarch Athenagoras for himself and his Church. It thus illustrates that the Patriarch can and should be fairly judged in terms of how far he met his own goals. Dr. Tsakonas' enthusiastic bias in favor of Athenagoras should not deter even the most objective critic from recognizing His All-Holiness' monumental achievement in bringing the Orthodox Church into direct ecumenical contact with the Christian Churches of both East and West. His accomplishments reflected a vision far more perceptive and dynamic than that of any of his colleagues, many of whom resisted his every move. "He . . . held the firm view that those wishing to change the way of life of the world should first change themselves." "Athenagoras wanted a revolution of morals and not a revolution of guns; he wanted a revolution of the conscience of the soul and not a revolution of clenched fists" (p. 67).

A Man Sent by God is a lucidly written seminal work that deserves the attention of every serious student of contemporary Orthodox Christianity, and of every Christian dedicated to the promotion of better understanding of peoples everywhere.

John E. Rexine
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Dr. Lewis J. Patsavos is assistant professor of Canon Law at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

A Parsing Guide to the New Testament. Compiled by Nathan E. Han, with an Introduction by Merrill C. Tenney. Scottdale, Pennsylvania/Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1977. Sixth Printing. Pp. xv, 479. Hardcover, \$12.95.

Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament: A Tabular and Statistical Greek-English Concordance Based on the King James Version with an English-to-Greek Index. By J. B. Smith. Introduction by Bruce M. Metzger. Scottdale, Pennsylvania/Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1977. Fourth Printing. Pp. 6 (unnumbered), 430. Hardcover, \$19.95.

It is encouraging to know that two substantial compilations of Greek New Testament material have been found to be so useful that they have been reissued steadily since their original publication in 1971 and 1955, respectively. In a country in which foreign languages are so little studied, and in which classical Greek is even less studied, it is significant that New Testament Greek continues to be the Greek that is most often learned in seminaries and institutions of higher education. The two works briefly under consideration here are valuable tools for seminary students, Bible colleges, New Testament scholars, clergymen, and biblical translators.

A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament "is intended to aid all Greek students in translating more accurately the Greek New Testament. Its purpose is to facilitate the translation of the New Testament for those students who have only a general knowledge of the Greek language" (p. v). *A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament* parses every verb form in the Greek New Testament in order—Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts of the Apostles, Letters to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philipians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, James, Peter, John, Judas, and Revelation. There is also a summary of morphology at the end of the book that gives the rules for formation of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and offers paradigms of their endings as well. Parsing errors and errors of roots are noted also under "Using the Parsing Guide." The Nestle-Aland Greek text is followed.

The Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament provides the student of the New Testament with basic information necessary to anyone who works intensively and frequently with the Greek text or with interpretations of that text. The *Concordance* is arranged statistically, so as to reveal immediately the relative frequency of occurrence of a Greek word in each book of the New Testament. The compiler has used the classic King James version of the Bible as the basis of his work. J. B. Smith spent the last twenty years of his life tabulating the statistics contained in this volume—it thus represents a true labor of love. Each table tells us the number of occurrences of the Greek word by work, chapter and verse. The total number of words in the *Concordance* is 5,524 and the individual words appear alphabetically. At the end of the book there is an index to the English words of the King James version, as found in the

column headings of the tabulations of the *Concordance*.

A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament and *Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament* are magnificent aids for the study of the New Testament and should be in every seminary library and in the library of every institution that teaches the original Greek text. Both books help to open up the treasures of the Greek language to every serious student of the New Testament. They accomplish this objective in a competent and convenient manner that contributes to a better understanding of the meaning of the New Testament.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha. Edited by Herber G. May and Bruce M. Metzger. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. Pp. xxviii, 1564 + xxiv, 340. 14 maps. \$15.95.

With the inclusion of all the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament (usually called "Apocrypha" by Protestants), this new annotated edition of the Revised Standard Version (RSV) by Oxford University Press contains the entire Bible according to the wider canon of the ancient Church. It also presents a wealth of information by way of introductions, brief explanatory articles, a valuable running outline of the entire Bible with interpretive notations, maps and other features extremely useful to the modern reader. Given the wide and well-deserved acceptance of the RSV since its publication twenty-six years ago, this new Oxford Annotated Bible is the best all-around edition of the Holy Scriptures available in English. The other major versions are *The New English Bible*, now in print with the "Apocrypha" and also published by Oxford University Press, and the two contemporary versions within the Roman Catholic Church, *The Jerusalem Bible* (1966) and *The New American Bible* (1970). All of these basic versions are new translations from the original languages of the Bible.

Published under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, the RSV stands in the Tyndale-King James tradition and represents the third revision (1946-1952) of the standard King James Bible (1611), a literary classic. Earlier revisions occurred in 1881-1885 and 1901. The RSV is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a new translation, but it is based on critical evaluation of textual, archeological, historical and other evidence by modern scholarship. It successfully combines historical-literary ties to the King James Version and the current results of biblical scholarship. It remains more literally true to the original Hebrew and Greek texts, less paraphrastic, and less "modern" than the other major contemporary versions of the Bible in English. The result is the best multi-purpose Bible

for liturgical, instructional, and private usage. The above Oxford Annotated Bible features a second edition of the text of the New Testament (1971). The ongoing RSV Committee hopes eventually to produce a second edition of the text of the Old Testament as well.

The above edition was published as a welcome ecumenical contribution. It follows in the tradition of the *Common Bible* (RSV, 1973), intended for use by all Christians, which received endorsement by Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox leaders. The new Oxford Annotated Bible makes a special ecumenical gesture toward Orthodox Christians with the addition of 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psalm 151. Thus Orthodox Christians now have available in the RSV all of the books of the Bible, including the whole canon of the ancient Septuagint Version. (However, the Septuagint Version has its own translation available in English through Samuel Bagster and Sons Limited, London and Harper and Row, New York).

We are thankful for this publication of the new Oxford Annotated Bible which makes the entire Bible richly accessible to all Christians. It may be used unofficially by Orthodox Christians as a reliable and readable edition of the Bible. However, official endorsement of it by Orthodox Church leaders involves numerous difficulties. Among them are the separation of the deuterocanonical books from their place in the canon, the divergent enumeration of the psalms, the question of whether to translate the Hebrew or Greek (Septuagint) text of the Old Testament, the question of whether to translate the New Testament from the scholarly critical or traditional text, the problem of harmonizing the RSV translation with the liturgical passages (lectionaries) which are so important to the Orthodox Church and so on. Perhaps a most curious decision in the above edition was to print the Old Testament deuterocanonical books as an addendum, not only after the Book of Revelation but also after several brief explanatory articles on the Bible, whereas the *Common Bible* properly printed them between the Old and New Testaments. This seems to be curiously contradictory to the ecumenical spirit of the edition.

Nevertheless this new Oxford Annotated Bible may be recommended for daily use by Orthodox Christians as the best available Bible in English.

Theodore G. Stylianopoulos
*Holy Cross Greek Orthodox
School of Theology*

The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey. By Thomas F. Mathews. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1976. pp. xx + 405. Frontispiece and 655 plates, 1 map. \$50.00.

Professor Mathews, author of the award winning *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (see review in GOTR, 22 ([1971]),

243-44) has produced another excellent study which admirably fulfills his stated purpose "to present to the scholar or student of Byzantine architecture a reasonably complete photographic documentation of the churches of ancient Constantinople." The author faithfully executes this purpose through the presentation of some 650 excellent black and white photographs of forty monuments (some containing more than one church) that have survived in one state or another. It is sad to recall, however, that the City once contained literally hundreds of churches.

The author informs us that he personally took some 10,000 photographs of these Christian monuments in preparation for his study, in addition to surveying many others in the known archival collections. It is to Professor Mathew's credit that despite his vast personal collection of photographs, he often uses photographs taken by others when these suit his purpose better. In addition, where needed, he has also used some of the excellent lithographs found in A.G. Paspates, *Vyzantinai Meletai Topographikai kai Historikai* (Constantinople, 1877).

Also included in this handsome volume is a map of the city of Constantinople clearly indicating the approximate location of each church. Each entry also includes a brief but concise introduction which mainly discusses the state of research of each church with special regard for the question of identification and chronology. Finally, there is a basic bibliography for each monument.

It is interesting to note that at present over one half of the Byzantine churches of Constantinople cannot be identified with certainty, and are therefore entered with their Turkish names, and that of all the churches surveyed, only one is still in the possession of the Orthodox Christians of Istanbul and is functioning as a church: *He Theotokos he Panagiotissa* also known as *He Theotokos he Panagia Mougliotissa* (the All-Holy Theotokos of the Mongols). This church, it is said, was a gift of Mehmed II to his architect Christodoulos who gifted the church to the Patriarchate.

This volume would enjoy even wider use had the author enlarged his historical introductions somewhat. Nonetheless, it remains a very valuable study which belongs in every serious library. With Professor Mathews, I too hope that his book "will facilitate the serious study of Istanbul's ancient monuments, for it does make available in a single volume a handy archive of photographic information." The rapidly changing face of many of the world's large cities makes this kind of photographic record even more important, valuable, and necessary. One only wishes that such a survey had been carried out many decades earlier when so much more of ancient Constantinople still existed.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In July of 1977 an International Consultation on Orthodox Theological Education was held at the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambésy - Geneva, Switzerland. The consultation was sponsored by "Syndesmos," the World Fellowship of Orthodox Youth Organizations. Attending were professors and students from most of the existing Orthodox theological schools. Dr. Lewis Patsavos represented the faculty of Holy Cross School of Theology. This occasion marked the first time that students had also been invited to participate and respond to the issues under discussion from their perspective. Their contributions to the discussions concerning the state of Orthodox theological education were rightly recognized as essential in meeting their needs.

Discussions focused upon the challenge of science, modern technology, pastoral needs, and the ecumenical movement to Orthodox theological education. Each theological school and seminary represented was given the opportunity to discuss its curriculum, teaching methods, and materials in order to determine common practices and locate individual problems. Each school was asked to respond through its representatives to the ways in which it meets the above areas.

Representatives then heard about the problems and needs experienced by some Orthodox theological schools in various parts of the world. Problems such as student activism, anticlericalism, civil strife, and even student harassment pose a serious threat to effective theological education in parts of Eastern Europe and the Middle East. On the other hand, the lack of resources and inadequacy of textbooks and teaching materials in other parts of the world make the task of teaching theology and training for ministry extremely difficult. Practical ways can and must be found to alleviate the burdens of some Orthodox theological schools. It was the consensus of all present that the responsibility for helping to achieve this lay with those Orthodox who have available to them both political freedom and material resources.

Although it seems apparent to this writer that it will be up to the Orthodox in America to take the lead in offering both

moral and material assistance wherever needed, it appears equally reasonable that we can take initiative in another area as well. This area is curriculum. Not unlike most students in our theological schools in America, the students at the consultation stressed the need for a more practical approach to the study of theology. Professors, too, concurred with this opinion, realizing perhaps that in the early Church it was through practice that one learned theology. The question, however, can again be raised: Who should take the initiative in launching a renewal in Orthodox theological education? I believe that we in America are at an advantage because of our adaptability to existing realities. The availability of numerous models of theological education through the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada, as well as theological consortia, makes it possible for us to take the lead in the area of curriculum as well. By studying the various models available to us and applying that which relates directly to our specific needs and interests, we can offer an inestimable service to Orthodox theological education both here and abroad.

ASSOCIATION OF THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS CONSULTATION ON THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The Consultation on Theological Education, sponsored by the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada (ATS), met in Chicago on April 10 - 11, 1978. The consultation brought together theological educators from throughout the United States and Canada who had received grants from the ATS to develop curriculum and methods of teaching in their respective schools. One of the main concerns of the consultation was to afford participants the opportunity to share results of their projects, in this way availing others of the benefit of their findings.

Dr. Lewis Patsavos reported to the consultation on the progress of the "Supervisor Training Seminar," which was a series of monthly workshop sessions in supervision held at Holy Cross for parish priests and some laypersons supervising students in local parishes.

NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 'SYNDESMOS'

The Ninth General Assembly of 'Syndesmos' met from July 20 - 26, 1977 at the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambésy - Geneva, Switzerland. The general theme of the assembly was "Thy Kingdom Come," which was then developed in three main addresses: "Prayer and Life," "Unity of the Eucharistic Community," and "Confessing Christ Today." Delegates to the assembly were representatives from member organizations in more than sixteen countries. Also invited were several observers from a number of international organizations.

Member organizations reported on their activities since the last general assembly held in Boston in 1971. Discussions then centered upon issues involving theological education, religious education in general, Orthodox unity, mission and witness, and the ecumenical movement. Discussions were carried on in awareness of the impact they might have upon preparations for the Great and Holy Synod.

Throughout the assembly interest was shown in the preparatory work currently in progress within the various Orthodox local churches for the future synod. There was, indeed, a consciousness that all should play an active role in generating interest and support for the synod among Orthodox youth in their respective lands. This was correctly seen as a way of involving the laity in the preparation of the synod, by reacting to issues under study by the hierarchy. In this way, a true consensus of the entire *ekklesia* can be achieved.

An important message conveyed by the Ninth General Assembly of 'Syndesmos' was that despite external difficulties, the organization still continues to exist and grow. This does not mean that difficulties have now ceased to exist. Nevertheless, at a time when youth organizations in other Christian Churches are experiencing severe inner crises, Orthodoxy can take heart in its active student groups and youth organizations, which are very often a viable force within their local churches.

Lewis J. Patsavos
Holy Cross School of Theology

HOLY CROSS GREEK ORTHODOX SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

ORDINATIONS:

John Terrell (1978) of the O.C.A. was ordained deacon at St. George's, South Boston on 1 May 1977 and presbyter on 22 January 1978 at Holy Trinity Cathedral, Brooklyn by Bishop Dimitri.

Stratton Dorozenski (1978) was ordained deacon on 26 June 1977 at Holy Trinity, Ansonia, Conn. by Bishop Silas of Amphipolis; presbyter on 3 July 1977 at Holy Trinity, Bridgeport, Conn. by Bishop Demetrios of Olympos.

Jon Magoulas (1977) was ordained deacon on 10 July 1977 at Holy Cross Chapel, Brookline, Mass. by Bishop Iakovos of Apameia; presbyter on 25 September 1977 at Annunciation, Decatur, Ill. by Archbishop Iakovos.

John Caparisos (1978) was ordained deacon on 10 July 1977 at St. Paul's, Savannah, Ga., by Bishop Iakovos of Apameia; presbyter on 18 June 1978 at St. Paul's by Bishop John of Thermon.

Gerasimos (George) Annas (1977) was ordained deacon on 14 August 1977 at St. John's, Jacksonville, Florida by Bishop Philotheos of Meloa; presbyter on 11 September 1977 at Koimisis Church, Chicago, Ill., by Bishop Timotheos of Rodostolon.

Deacon Demetrios Recachinas (1975) was ordained presbyter on 21 August 1977 at St. Paraskeve's Church, Greenlawn, N.Y. by Bishop Philotheos of Meloa.

David Wright (1978) was ordained deacon on 14 September 1977 at Holy Cross Chapel, Brookline, Mass., by Archbishop Iakovos; presbyter on 6 August 1978 at Transfiguration, Corona, N.Y. by Bishop Maximos of Diokleia.

John Angel (1974) was ordained deacon on 14 September 1977 at Holy Cross, Brooklyn, N.Y., by Bishop Silas of Amphipolis; presbyter on 16 October 1977 at St. Paraskeve, Greenlawn, N.Y. by Bishop Silas.

Andrew George (1973) was ordained deacon on 18 September 1977 at St. Spyridon's, Monesson, Pa., by Bishop Iakovos of Apameia; presbyter on 5 October 1977 at Annunciation Church, Rochester, N.Y., by Bishop Iakovos.

Harry Providakis (1978) was ordained deacon on 2 October 1977 at St. Spyridon's, Worcester, Mass., by Bishop Iakovos of Apameia; presbyter on 17 May 1978 at Holy Cross Chapel, Brookline, Mass., by Archbishop Iakovos.

John Mavroudes (1978) was ordained deacon on 6 November 1977 at Annunciation Church, Woburn, Mass., by Bishop Iakovos of Apameia.

Michael Kouremetis (1982) was ordained deacon on 18 December 1977 at SS. Constantine and Helen, Merrillville, Indiana by Bishop Philotheos of Meloa.

Nicholas Apostola (1980) of the Romanian Orthodox Archdiocese was ordained deacon on 19 March 1978 at Holy Trinity Cathedral, N.Y., by Archbishop Iakovos.

Paul Palesty (1976) was ordained deacon on 19 March 1978 at Holy Trinity Cathedral by Archbishop Iakovos; presbyter on 28 May 1978 at St. Nicholas, San Jose, Ca., by Bishop Meletios of Christianoupolis.

Michael Petrides (1979) was ordained deacon on 16 April 1978 at Holy Trinity, Stubenville, Ohio, by Bishop Gerasimos of Abydos.

Grand Archimandrites Maximos Aghiorgoussis, of the faculty of Holy Cross, was ordained Bishop of Diokleia on 18 June 1978 at Holy Trinity Cathedral, New York City, by Archbishop Iakovos, Metropolitan Kyrillos of Kisamou & Selimou of Crete, Bishops Silas of Amphipolis, Anthimos of Christoupolis, Philotheos of Meloa, Demetrios of Olympos, Iakovos of Apameia, and Elias of Salamia.

Fr. Velimir Kovacevich (1978) of the Serbian Orthodox Church was ordained Bishop of Eastern America and Canada at St. Michael's Cathedral in Belgrade, Yugoslavia by Patriarch German and other bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate. Fr. Kovacevich chose the monastic name of Christopher.

FACULTY

Fr. Stanley S. Harakas

Dean and Professor of Orthodox Christian Ethics was Visiting Lecturer at Boston College:

Participated: in the monthly meetings of the Executive Com-

mittee of the Boston Theological Institute; in the General Meeting for Associate Members of the Hastings Center for Bioethics, Dobbs Ferry, New York, June 17-18, 1977; as a panelist at the Greek Heritage Day, Univ. of Lowell, October 29, 1977; in Orthodox Theological Society Committee Meeting on Holy Confession Report, November 8, 1977; in the conference on ethics and ecumenism where he presented a paper on "Christian Ethics in Ecumenical Perspective: An Orthodox Christian View" at Graymoor, N.Y., April 26, 1978; in the Annual Director's Meeting of the Massachusetts Bible Society, Boston, Mass., May 15, 1978; in the Annual Meeting of the Orthodox Theological Society, May 22-23, 1978; in the Association of Theological Schools Biennial Meeting, Toronto, Canada, June 19-22, 1978; gave a series of Lectures on "Liturgical Participation" at the Greek Orthodox Church in Kansas City, Mo., November 12-13, 1977; lectured on the topic "Morality and the Orthodox Home" at the Greek Orthodox Parish in Dayton, Ohio, January 14-15, 1978; presented a four-part Lenten Lecture Series in the parish of St. Demetrios, Weston, Mass., March 15, 22, 29, and April 5, 1978; presented one of the Anniversary Lectures at the Assumption Greek Orthodox Church, St. Clair Shores, Mich., April 15-16, 1978; served as Retreat Master on "Living the Liturgy," San Antonio, Texas, June 3-5, 1978; conducted consultations with the Deans of the University Schools of Theology in Athens and Thessalonica, Greece, June 26-July 3, 1978; presented one of three major papers at the Consultation on Orthodox Theological Education, Basel, Switzerland, July 4-6, 1978.

Published: "The Local Church: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective," *The Ecumenical Review* 29 (1977).

"Eastern Orthodox Perspectives on Natural Law," *Selected Papers: The American Society of Christian Ethics*, 1977.

"L'Etica nella tradizione Greco-ortodossa," *Unitas* 32 (1977).

"Eastern Orthodoxy: An Introduction for Southern Baptists," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 22 (1977).

Fr. Theodore Stylianopoulos

Participated: as a speaker at the National Clergy Retreat in Detroit, September 6-7, 1977; spoke to the Harvard Orthodox Fellowship, October 27, 1977; served as panelist at the Hellenic Studies Conference at Lowell University, October 29, 1977; served as retreat master at the Greek Orthodox parishes of Birmingham, Alabama (November 14-15, 1977) and Phoenix-Tucson, Arizona (December 10-11, 1977); spoke at the National College Retreat at St. Vladimir's Seminary, Crestwood, New York, December 28, 1977; in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in New York, January 24-25, 1978; presented a paper at the fifth meeting of Orthodox-Lutheran Theologians, Bonn, Germany, February 20-25, 1978; lectured at Boston University, March 8, 1978; spoke at the Clergy Retreat of the First Archdiocesan District at Garrison, New York, March 28, 1978.

Dr. George S. Bebis

Attended: the Consultation of Orthodox Theologians in the Monastery of New Valamo, Finland as consultant of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; the Roman Catholic - Orthodox Consultation in New York City and Washington, D.C.; the Anglican - Orthodox Consultation at the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in New York; participated in the Greek Orthodox - Southern Baptist Consultation; delivered six lectures on the "Person of Christ" (in accordance with the New Testament and Patristic sources) at the Evening School of Christian Studies at Saint Paul's Episcopal Church in Brockton, Mass; attended the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches at Boosey, Switzerland as a consultant and participated at the Forum of Bilateral Conversations; delivered a paper entitled "Concepts of Unity" and published, "Worship in the Orthodox Church," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 22(1977); visited His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios I at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul, Turkey.

Dr. Lewis J. Patsavos

Served as coordinator and faculty member of the "Supervisor Training Seminar" during the current academic year.

Attended: a consultation on theological education in Chicago sponsored by the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada; attended and spoke on the topic "Prayer and Life" at the international consultation on theological education sponsored by 'Syndesmos,' the world fellowship of Orthodox youth organizations, in Geneva; participated in the Orthodox-Catholic Consultation in New York and made a presentation on the "Orthodox Canonical Legislation Regarding the Upbringing of Children in a 'Mixed Marriage.'" ; was the respondent to a similar presentation by a Roman Catholic colleague delivered at the consultation meeting held in Washington, D.C.; presented his paper " 'Mixed' Marriages and the Canonical Tradition of the Orthodox Church" at the Orthodox - Catholic Consultation in Garrison, N.Y.; visited twenty parishes in the New England area and in Chicago during the current academic year in his capacity as Director of Field Education, delivering the homily and speaking about the mission of Hellenic College - Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Fr. Nomikos Michael Vaporis

Served as Acting Dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology during the Spring semester 1977.

Participated: in the monthly meetings of the "Greater Boston Byzantine Fellowship"; in the Greek History seminar at the European Institute of Harvard University; in the annual meeting of the Orthodox-Anglican Dialogue in New York City; in the meeting of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Washington, D.C.; in the annual meeting of the Orthodox Theological Society of America in Brookline; and attended the conference of the Medieval Society at Wellesley College; spoke at the Community of the Arch-angels in Stamford, Connecticut on "Hellenic College and Orthodox Christian Higher Education"; lectured at the

Greek Orthodox Community of St. Clair Shores, Michigan, on "Some Forerunners of the Greek Revolution: Nektarios Terpos, Kosmas Aitolos, and Nikodemos Hagiorites"; chaired the panel on the Orthodox Church at Lowell University.

Published: *Father Kosmas the Apostle of the Poor: The Life of St. Kosmas Aitolos Together with an English Translation of His Teachings and Letters*. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977.

"Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris and the Translation of the Scriptures into Modern Greek," ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΣ 59 (1977), 227-41.

"Συμβολή εις τόν έπισκοπικόν κατάλογον τής μητροπόλεως Λήμνου," ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ 60 (1977), 38-51.

An Orthodox Prayer Book. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1977.

† POPE PAUL VI

By any standard, Pope Paul VI looms as one of the great figures in the Ecumenical endeavor as it relates to the relationships of Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. There is a real sense in which Pope Paul was an exemplification of the dynamics, the potential, and the difficulties of Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox relations. Pope Paul was far from being a simple and clearly understood church leader. He implemented much of the spirit and legislation of Vatican II. At the same time, his loyalty to Roman Catholic doctrine and faith, and to the primacy of the Roman See was seen by many as a too conservative, too Roman approach to inter-church relations. In his life and works he did remarkable things which expressed on the one hand his powerful desire to overcome the barriers between the Orthodox Church and Roman Catholicism. Certainly one of the most dramatic and significant events was the meeting of Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I in which the anathemas of nine hundred years duration were at least formally withdrawn. Even more striking, for any human being, much less the Pope and Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, was the almost unbelievable act of Pope Paul in falling to his knees and kissing the feet of Metropolitan Meliton in December of 1975. No Orthodox heart could fail to be assailed, if not touched by such a dramatic gesture. One could not help but think of the Council of Florence-Ferrara, at which time the order was reversed and Easterners were expected to place themselves at the Papal feet.

It is quite obvious that things are not the same anymore. Things are changing ever so slowly. The Orthodox have responded to such generous actions on the part of the West and initiated in an official fashion a broad based Pan-Orthodox dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. Recently, in Geneva, the preparatory committee met in order to work out agenda details.

One looks at the potentialities for a rapprochement between the Church of Rome and the Church of the East. We see that with Rome, though there are many differences still, there is a strong potentiality of development for cooperation and ultimate unity. Perhaps the disillusionment of the Orthodox with the actions of the Anglican and Episcopal Churches on the question of women's ordination serves to strengthen the impetus in this direction.

None of this of course should blind us to the continuing problems and difficulties involved in the Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogue. Yet as one reviews the pontificate of Paul VI, it is impossible from an Orthodox perspective not to note the difference that his reign has caused. As far as Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations are concerned, it is inevitable that his memory will be eternal.

Stanley S. Harakas
*Holy Cross Greek Orthodox
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ARTHUR E. JOHN GONZALEZ
AND MATTHEW G. CHAPMAN

THE LEX ORANDI OF THE EASTERN CHURCH: CRITICAL ADDENDA TO PROFESSOR DAVIES' ASSESSMENT OF ORTHODOX WORSHIP

It has been elsewhere noted that for many years the Orthodox Church suffered from "incredible misrepresentation by Western observers of her life and spirit" and from "the imposition of alien cultural standards."¹ In the last three or four decades, renewed interest in the Eastern Church on the part of Western scholars has served to shed light on the Orthodox witness and to focus attention away from earlier scholarly weaknesses. Moreover, the spirit of ecumenical dialogue and confrontation has created an atmosphere in which preoccupation with occidental inadequacies in dealing with the Orthodox *ethos* seems unnecessary, if not ungentlemanly.

We might, however, argue that a critical attitude toward deficient Western treatments of Eastern Orthodoxy is in fact what will afford truly meaningful ecumenical dialogue. Firstly, all parties must candidly acknowledge the severity of the Western distortion of the witness which the Eastern Orthodox bring into dialogue. Suffice it to cite a single egregious example of the "imposition of alien cultural standards" in Adrian Fortescue's incredible comments on Byzantine liturgical music as heard by the 'ear' of a Western observer:

To Western ears this music certainly sounds very strange and barbarous. . . . The Byzantines have other musical practices that make their singing still more unpleasant to us. . . . Their melodies continually change from one mode to another, and, as they have no accompaniment and only the vaguest pneumas printed in their books, it is difficult for the singers to know what mode they should sing. To help them, a boy is made to sing the Ison (*ison*, dominant) continuously the whole time. . . . If anything were wanted to make this amazing chanting still more unbearable to us, it would be

1. Arthur E. John Gonzalez, "History and Politics of the Byzantine Church: Some Historiographical Perspectives," *Kleronomia*, 1976, in press.

the continual wail of the Ison-boy piercing through the apparently irresponsible vagaries of the choir. . . .Pity that so much skill should be spent to produce such a hideous result.²

Secondly, Orthodox scholars must be constantly aware of the effect of Western distortions of the Orthodox *Weltansicht* on their own theological formulations and observations. In a brilliantly provocative essay, Christos Yannaras pointed out several years ago that the very giants of contemporary Orthodox theology in the Greek theological faculties have themselves often simply adapted Roman Catholic or Protestant theologies to their own purposes, obscuring or distorting the actual Orthodox stance.³ The imitation of Western models becomes especially troublesome when it is done in an unwitting effort to provide ostensibly Orthodox responses to questions which are more appropriately Western in origin or little more than *theologoumena* in the Orthodox theological scheme. In short, accurate self-presentation is a necessary condition for honest dialogue.⁴

Lastly, it seems prudent to avoid at all costs the wily snare of the 'contrast effect.' If one is all too willing to embrace the spirit of renewed interest in the Eastern Church among Westerners, he may begin to overlook the foibles of the Western commentators—unavoidable foibles cultivated over the 'darker years' in the study of the Christian East. This spirit of naive cooperation is understandable and, in some instances, desirable;

2. Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, 1911), pp. 411-12. It would be fruitless to detail the technical errors and serious omissions in Fortescue's discussion of Byzantine music. His obviously limited understanding of that music, however, no doubt contributed to the caustic appraisal we have quoted.

3. Christos Yannaras, "Theology in Present-Day Greece," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 16, No. 4 (1972), 200-01.

4. As a parenthetical example of the tendency to imitate Western sources and thus misinterpret and wrongly present Orthodox traditions, we cite here an entry from a rather popular dictionary of Greek Orthodox theology and practice. A 'novice' is therein defined as aspirant to monastic 'orders.' In the strictest sense, there are no orders in the Eastern Church; in addition, there is, technically speaking, no novice. The rasophore monk (Gr. *rasophoros*, from *rason*, a tunic, and *phoreo*, to wear), the closest parallel to the Western novice, is more than a novice; he belongs fully to the monastic brotherhood. The true distinction between monks (from the rasophore as an imperfect monk, *ateles monachos*, to the monk of the Great Schema as a perfect monk, *teleios monachos*) is according to a system which simply cannot be accommodated by the Western monastic structure and its nomenclature. Here we have a graphic example of the misinterpretation of Orthodox tradition engendered by unwise attempts at parallelism and accommodation.

however, it must germinate in a context of blunt and decisive dialogue. The Latin aphorism still stands: *vincit omnia veritas*. Only *true* dialogue conquers and resolves *true* differences.

It is in this framework that we treat the assessment of Eastern Orthodox worship in a small study, now some two decades old, by Horton Davies, Putnam Professor of Religion at Princeton University. Indeed, one might applaud Professor Davies for even having included a portrayal of Orthodox worship in his *Christian Worship: Its History and Meaning*. By contrast with Fortescue's assessment *pollice verso* of Byzantine music, Davies' stated aim to "appreciate" Orthodox worship appears irreproachable. But we resist the temptation of such enticing niceties and pursue, as we must in any scholarly endeavor, the critical course.

Professor Davies' eight-page consideration of Orthodox worship begins with an historical account of Christian worship services up to the fourth century. He characterizes the worship of the primitive Church in those first few centuries as similar to that of the Orthodox Jews. The order of worship he visualizes as spontaneous and "unfixed," prayer as "often free" and "ordered by the presiding minister."⁵ To this primitive form of worship is contrasted the order of worship in the fourth century: services "not celebrated in private houses, but in stately cathedrals and magnificent churches, not in free and simple forms of service, but in fixed and ordered worship."⁶ This fourth-century 'transformation' in the order of worship Davies attributes to the emergence of the Christian Church as a faith no longer prohibited and persecuted.

In a rather unclear transition, Professor Davies moves abruptly from his contrast of primitive and fourth-century Christian worship to the Orthodox liturgy, presumably identifying Orthodox worship with the fourth-century "production of a dignified, beautiful, and an ordered liturgy."⁷ We will not enter here into the complex argument as to the historical accuracy of Davies' claim that: "In the first services of the early Church, the leader prayed and the people simply signified their

5. Horton Davies, *Christian Worship: Its History and Meaning* (New York and Nashville, 1957), p. 26.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

approval by saying 'Amen.' ”⁸ However, we will take exception to his historiographical *vista* and the notion that Orthodox worship grew out of the 'transformation' which suddenly occurred in the form of worship in the fourth-century Christian Church.

Western ecclesiastical historians are prone to seeing the development of the Church in terms of isolated segments which represent either the degeneration of apostolic Christianity or the renewal (reformation) of the spirit of apostolicity. The only unifying theme in that development, moreover, is usually one of progressive degeneration. Thus fourth-century worship, unless part of a conscious reformation and return to 'antiquity,' is not as apostolic as the pre-fourth-century order of services. The farther one moves forward in history, the more likely his removal from 'authentic' Christianity. As Father Florovsky has noted, "it is too often assumed . . . that the Early Church was, as it were, closer to the spring of truth."⁹ While Professor Davies does not contend that the fourth-century 'transformation' in worship which generated Orthodox liturgics was part of a degenerative process, his historiographical outlook nonetheless belongs to that school which segments the development of the Christian Church. Such an outlook fails to touch upon the Orthodox view of the development of worship.

The Eastern Orthodox Church claims to be the legitimate heir of the very Church established by Christ. If, as Professor Davies implies, her liturgical services were created by a certain 'transformation' in the fourth century, at very best the integrity of her claim to worship in the apostolic manner would seem compromised. But this thinking is foreign to Orthodoxy. The Orthodox view the Church as a developing, dynamic organism. This teleological development of the worship of the Church emphasizes the wholeness and unity of the historical path of Orthodoxy. As one writer has remarked, "the present rule of Divine Services was already contained in the idea of the Divine Services of the first Christians in the same way that in the seed of a plant are already contained the forms of the plant's

8. Ibid.

9. Georges Florovsky, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), pp. 109-10.

future growth.”¹⁰ There was, then, from the Orthodox viewpoint, no ‘transformation’ of worship in the fourth century, but an evolutionary growth into maturity. (We might note here that the historiographical concept of growth and gradual organic evolution is in some ways more amenable to historical fact than the highly contrived model of ‘points of transition’ and ‘transformations.’) Seen from this perspective, pre-fourth-century and fourth-century worship are not so much to be pictured in terms of contrast, but as antecedent and consequence, in the same perfect unity of identity that belongs to the child grown into adulthood.

Before turning to Professor Davies’ general assessment of the Orthodox liturgy, it behooves us to comment on some of the inaccuracies in his description of the external details of Orthodox worship. We do this not in the spirit of pedantry; rather, our purpose is to demonstrate that Davies’ general assessment of Orthodox worship grows out of a misunderstanding of his subject that reaches even into his unfamiliarity with the incidentals of the Eastern Church. This unfamiliarity is vividly reflected in the paucity of materials cited in the bibliography of his book, both under texts and commentaries specifically on the Eastern liturgy and under general studies. In the former instance, he cites two nineteenth-century sources (Brightman¹¹ and Neale¹²), both offering less than desirable translations of liturgical references. More recent and reliable translations of, not to mention commentaries on, the liturgy are too numerous and available to warrant citation here. It is unfortunate that Professor Davies so injudiciously limited his primary sources. Similarly, as regards general studies, we are astounded not to find a single one of the numerous general surveys of the Orthodox Church, which certainly any scholar would consider rudimentary to a discussion of Orthodox worship. For a scholar of such competence and skill in the history of worship in other Christian traditions, Professor Davies’ oversights in source works are especially bewildering. These oversights doubtlessly

10. Machael Pomazansky, “The Liturgical Theology of Fr. A. Schmemmann.” *The Orthodox Word*, 1970 (December-November), n.p.

11. Frank E. Brightman (ed.), *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Vol. I (New York, 1896).

12. J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies (Eastern)* (London, 1869).

account for his many erroneous statements and misleading impressions. Certainly they lead him to find faults in Eastern worship that bespeak more his misapprehensions than any shortcomings of the liturgy itself.

Firstly, Davies identifies three liturgies of "great importance"¹³ in the Orthodox Church: those of St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great, and of the Presanctified Gifts. He correctly notes that the Presanctified is used only on Wednesdays and Fridays of Great Lent. However, his statement that the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil are similar and that the former "is now in general use among Orthodox Christians"¹⁴ leaves one with the impression that the liturgy of St. Basil is in desuetude. This, of course, is untrue, since St. Basil's Liturgy has a use similar to that of the Presanctified, being celebrated on Sundays of the Great Fast (except for the Sunday of the Entry into Jerusalem, or Palm Sunday) and on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday before Pascha. In addition, this liturgy is used on the eves (vigils) of the Nativity and Epiphany (except when these feasts fall on a Sunday or Monday) and on St. Basil's day.

Secondly, in answer to the question, "What is this worship like?"¹⁵ Professor Davies leaves the impression that contemporary Orthodox worship is conducted with the catechumens separated from the faithful, with the priest further separated from the beginners and baptized by a "magnificent screen."¹⁶ There are several problems here. Catechumens now are very seldom, if ever, placed in the western end of the nave of the church, as in earlier times. They worship with the faithful. More importantly, anyone trying to understand 'what this worship is like' would be hard-pressed to realize, from Davies' description, that the priest does not stand continuously behind the *iconostasis* and celebrate the service apart from the worshippers. In fact, he regularly moves out among the faithful and interacts with them. In addition to "say[ing] their prayers in secret"¹⁷ behind the *iconostasis*, the servers frequently pray with the people in *front* of the screen.

13. Davies, p. 28.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

Thirdly, there are some technical points in Professor Davies' account of the Orthodox liturgy which are from time to time imprecise. For example, he describes the sanctuary as "contain[ing] a Holy Table on which lie the Gospels—to symbolize the presence of the Lord Christ; a cross—to signify where the sacrifice is offered; and the holy gifts of bread and wine."¹⁸ More correctly, there are behind the *iconostasis* the Holy Table and the so-called Table of Oblation, the latter located in the northern part of the sanctuary. It is on the Table of Oblation that the holy gifts usually rest, to be transferred from there to the Holy Table only during the liturgy (namely, at the Great Entrance). It is on the Holy Table that the consecrated Gifts, the Body and Blood, are reserved in the Ark (Tabernacle) for the sick and for the liturgy of the Presanctified. The Altar also contains a cross and the Gospels, as Davies claims, but additionally the Holy Chrism and the Corporal (Antimins) are kept on it.

On the gates of the main door of the *iconostasis*, Professor Davies maintains, one will find "an image of the angel of God announcing to Mary that she should give birth to the Savior of the world."¹⁹ Actually, the center opening in the screen, the 'Royal Door,' is not always, in modern usage, covered by gates. When it is, the Annunciation and the four Evangelists are commonly depicted. While it is true that the 'Server's Door' (the northern aperture of the screen) "is used for two processions in the course of the liturgy, known as the 'Great' and 'Little' Entrances,"²⁰ the sequence of words in this portrayal is deceiving. The Great Entrance does not, as the sequence might suggest, precede the Little Entrance.

Professor Davies' notion that, in picturing the enactment of the Liturgy, we must realize that "there are two services proceeding at the same time"²¹ is yet another inexact statement. The interaction between the priest, the faithful, the choir, and the readers is quite intricate and coordinated. No separate services can be said to proceed at the same time. All elements of the liturgy are quite consciously integrated. Nor can we

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 29.

21. Ibid.

resist remarking that the five loaves used in the preparation of the elements for consecration, which, Davies maintains, "typify the five loaves of our Lord's miracle in the feeding of the multitude,"²² are representative of Slavonic practice. This is not a Greek usage—a point which more thorough research might have readily disclosed to Professor Davies. The blessing of the five loaves at the Vigil Service on the eve of a Great Feast is the only instance in which the five loaves are common to Greek and Slavonic customs.

Finally, Professor Davies is absolutely incorrect in his assertion that "the homily, or sermon," in Orthodox worship, "has entirely disappeared."²³ True, Orthodox do not give to the homily the role it plays in the Reformed Churches. This is because *kerygma* in the Church cannot, for Orthodox, be conceived as a distinct form of Christian experience concentrated in the sermon, but is thought to be manifest in liturgical worship, private devotion, preaching, and any other 'proclamation' of the Eternal Truth. *Kerygma* has "ultimate reference . . . to the vision of faith, to spiritual knowledge and experience;"²⁴ as such, it must not be assigned exclusively to the sermon, the liturgy, or whatever. But certainly the homily has not "disappeared" from Orthodox worship. Quite to the contrary: the great homilists of the past, St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great, among others, have their counterparts throughout the history of the Church up to the present day. Where neglect of the sermon has surfaced in Orthodox worship, the resulting practice is the exception, not the norm. One need only attend the incomparably beautiful paschal liturgy and hear, year after year, the ever-new and ever-inspiring Easter sermon of St. John Chrysostom to know that in the most profound sense the Eastern Church apprehends and exalts homiletic praise. Boasting the most ancient Christian liturgies, the Eastern Church can with equal pride lay claim to some of the most eloquent and renowned homilists of Christianity. In such a tradition, the disappearance of the sermon is unlikely.²⁵

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., p. 30.

24. Florovsky, p. 108.

25. Let us consider as an aside here another highly valued feature of Protestant worship, Scriptural references. Just as it is often alleged that Eastern worship lacks

Our foregoing comments should clearly demonstrate that to reconstruct the Orthodox liturgy from Professor Davies' description would entail a prodigious exercise of creative perception. As we direct our attention, at this point, to his general assessment of Orthodox worship, we must at the outset clarify that we are dealing with two distinct sets of observations in that assessment. The first set, an enumeration of four characteristics of Orthodox worship which Davies draws up in the style of a juxtaposition of portions of the liturgy with corresponding devotional attributes, is excellent. Describing the liturgy as immersed in a "sense of mystery," concentrated on the "end of grace, eternal life," he characterizes the "soul of the worshipper [as] tak[ing] wings" in a "form of worship" in which "there is a place for devout silence."²⁶ The insightful tenor of these first observations is regrettably absent from Davies' second set of observations. These latter observations are meant to provide a catalogue of the defects in Orthodox worship. The transition from the first set of observations, accurate and trenchant as they are, to the faulty and highly subjective second set of observations affords yet another occasion for bewilderment. It is implausible that the two sets of observations should be so divergent in their scholarly worth and objective quality. But such is the case. Let us then consider in turn each of Professor Davies' remarks about the defects in the Orthodox liturgy.

"...*Absence of Instruction.*"²⁷ Professor Davies opines that, lacking either a sermon or homily, Orthodox worship is uninstructional: "This means that the worship is always beauti-

emphasis on the homiletic aspect of devotion, many authorities argue that the impact of the Word of God is lost in the formalism of Orthodox liturgical ritual. Such a view, on the one hand, fails to capture the Orthodox perception of Scripture. Scripture is always set in the context of the Church, understood from what St. Basil calls the "mind of the Church" [*to phronema ekklesiastikon*]. Likewise, in worship it is only appropriate that the Word of God be placed in the midst and as an integral part of the liturgy. On the other hand, in actuality the Orthodox liturgy is incredibly rich in Scriptural allusions. Father Constantelos has noted, for example, that, including the Service of Prothesis (Oblation), the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom contains 237 verses of Scripture. [Consult Rev. Demetrios J. Constantelos, "The Holy Scriptures in Greek Orthodox Worship," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12, No. 1 (1966), 38.] We must agree with his contention that, "indeed, the Greek Orthodox Church is very much a Scriptural Church" (p. 7).

26. Davies, pp. 32-33.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

ful, but it must often be unintelligible to the uninstructed.”²⁸ We have already pointed out that there is, indeed, a sermon in the course of the liturgy and that the liturgy itself might be viewed as kerygmatic. In addition, the Russian saint, John of Kronstadt, is often cited as having taught that the liturgy contains all of the theology that one need know. The rich scriptural references, inspiring poetry, and lofty praises of the liturgy teem with instructive elements and tend to support St. John’s contention. Furthermore, we are at a loss to understand Davies’ admonition that the “absence of instruction” makes the liturgy “unintelligible” to the “uninstructed.” The issue of the instructional value of the liturgy itself aside, it seems to us improper to fault the liturgy for being inaccessible to those who are not facile in its celebration and meaning. Certainly it is not a requirement exclusive to Eastern Orthodoxy that the faithful in fact come to understand the worship service. For this reason, both adult catechumens (converts) and children are regularly instructed in the meaning of the liturgy. Otherwise, the liturgy certainly might be unintelligible. This we do not feel is a defect or an occasion for apology.

The important issue, however, is the *kind* of instruction that the liturgy offers. Obviously Professor Davies is looking for the edifying exhortation to faith which marks homiletic instruction. Valuable and desirable as such teaching may be, at a fundamental level the Orthodox liturgy offers something far beyond appeals to the rational faculties alone. “The majestic drama which is the Eastern liturgy”²⁹ reaches into a mystical realm in which the normal cognitive faculties of reason and intellect are essentially inapplicable, if not inoperative. Its deepest significance is noetic, and at that level mere instructional features, appealing to understanding and faith at the level of belief and affirmation, are meaningless. What Origen wrote of the Eucharist applies just as well to the whole of the liturgy: it can be understood in a “deeper and more divine manner.”³⁰

We can best illustrate this point, perhaps, by reference to the current moves, especially in America, to conduct the liturgy in

28. Ibid.

29. Arthur E. John Gonzalez, “The Byzantine Imperial Paradigm and Eastern Liturgical Vesture,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17, No. 2 (1972), 267.

30. PG 13, col. 1735.

the prevailing language of the people (in America, English). It is true that the Orthodox Church has historically encouraged the use of the vernacular in worship. And we are sympathetic in many ways with those who would argue that this historical tendency should be followed in our own times. However, a convert to the Church, John Opie, has recently taken issue with the position of many other converts who insist that the services be conducted in their native tongues on the grounds that they otherwise cannot comprehend the liturgy. He argues, and we think with some reason, that understanding the liturgy is not a conceptual task in the normal sense and that therefore on a certain level the language issue as such is secondary, if not superficial. His comments are equally pertinent to the superficiality of the notions of instruction and intelligibility as Professor Davies applies them to the liturgy. Writing of those who press for the use of the popular idiom, Opie remarks:

I can think of no healthier exercise for converts . . . than standing for two hours at a Liturgy without understanding a word. When every word *is* grasped, what after all has been understood of a liturgy whose objective purpose is the direct communication of the sacred at a level *above* the conceptual?³¹

After all, was it not St. Paul who affirmed that the highest form of Christian experience cannot be 'uttered' (II Corinthians 12:4), let alone made "intelligible" to the "uninstructed"?

Dissatisfaction with the world. The Orthodox liturgy is a type of worship, Professor Davies contends, that "does not send a man out dissatisfied with the world and with himself."³² Our reaction to this ostensible defect in Orthodox devotion is that Davies assigns to the liturgy a purpose which it neither intends nor pretends to fulfill. The Orthodox liturgy is meant to take man outside the world, exalt his spiritual sensibilities, and rectify his vision of the world. He then returns to mundane existence with a more complete vision, with an attitude that "is not indifferent to the life of the world;" rather, worldly life "becomes a presupposition for the attainment of the heavenly

31. John Lindsay Opie, "The Enemy Within," *Eastern Churches Review* 7, No. 2 (1975), 189.

32. Davies, p. 33.

life."³³ Having seen the 'True Light,' the light which "shines in the darkness" (John 1:5), one leaves the liturgy, not with dissatisfaction in himself and the world, but with a new understanding of how he and the world interact with the heavenly. Professor Davies' 'defect' in the Orthodox liturgy arises, then, in a certain respect from his misapprehension of Orthodox cosmology. Spiritual life is meant to transcend and thereby transform man and the world, and not to denigrate them. As one authority has so accurately written of Orthodox spirituality, "Matter is transcended in the achievement . . . [of] . . . the union of this world with the next; but the achievement is reached *through* matter."³⁴ What Professor George Bebis has eloquently written of the patristic tradition speaks equally eloquently of Orthodox worship: it entails "a genuine renewal of man, a mobile power, a vivifying light, which grants to man his absolute fulfillment in the *pleroma* of the Divine Energies of God."³⁵ In short, the fact that an individual does not leave the liturgy dissatisfied with himself and the world is, for the Orthodox sense of worship, neither here nor there.³⁶

The prophetic note. Davies links his criticism that one does not leave the Orthodox liturgy dissatisfied in himself and the world with the fact that in the liturgy "the prophetic note is missing."³⁷ We have little to say on this matter, since it is difficult to ascertain exactly what is meant by "the prophetic note." If Professor Davies is referring to the witness of the Prophets, we need only direct him again to the extensive list of Scriptural allusions in the liturgy provided by Father Constantelos [*vide infra*, note 25], in which no less than 124 are from the Old Testament, the witness of the Prophets *par excellence*. If, on the other hand, he means by "prophetic

33. Constantine D. Kalokyris, "The Essence of Orthodox Iconography," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 13, No. 1 (1968), 97.

34. J. M. Hussey et. al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV.2 (Cambridge, 1967), 204.

35. George S. Bebis, "The Concept of Tradition in the Fathers of the Church," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 15, No. 1 (1970), 55.

36. Let us augment our discussion of the spirit in which Orthodox worship is received by quoting Gogol's famous portrayal of the deacon and the priest as they leave the celebration of the liturgy: "Finally, they both leave the church, bearing radiant freshness in their faces, exultant joy in their hearts, and thanksgiving to the Lord on their lips." See Nikolai Gogol, *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy* (New York, reprinted 1964), p. 56.

37. Davies, p. 33.

note" the fulfillment of the redemptive promise, we would simply remind him that the liturgy is the enactment of the redemptive drama, the very fulfillment of the prophetic spirit. The one who "fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah" (Matthew 13:14) comes to dwell among the faithful in the liturgy. Prophecy is made manifest.

"...*There is an excess of symbolism.*"³⁸ It is not uncommon for Western Christians to look at the highly symbolic nature of Orthodox worship and conclude, with Professor Davies, that "the ceremonial...[becomes] almost meaningless."³⁹ This is because, as Ernst Benz has correctly written, "it is not easy for the non-Orthodox to understand the language of the Orthodox liturgy, for a special mode of thought underlies the texts and hymns—a way of thinking primarily in symbols and not in abstract concepts."⁴⁰ For a non-Orthodox to find the liturgy meaningless because of its excessive symbolism is tantamount to a Russian claiming that English words have no significance simply because he does not speak the language. In fact, the symbolic meaning of Orthodox worship is profound, to belabor the obvious, 'beyond words.' Its message is precisely at the non-verbal, symbolic level. If it appears meaningless to Professor Davies at any other level, that fact is perhaps actually insignificant. As Leonid Ouspensky, that brilliant expositor of the Orthodox language of symbolism, maintains, "symbolism, the language of mystery, reveals the truth to those who know how to interpret it, while concealing it from the uninitiated."⁴¹ We fear that the liturgy seems to Professor Davies meaningless in its symbolism only because its resounding message is in a language which he has not attempted to understand.

The congregation as spectators. A final defect which Davies finds in Orthodox worship is expressed in his observation that "the congregation are spectators rather than participants in worship."⁴² While he praises the liturgy earlier for allowing

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Ernst Benz, *The Orthodox Church: Its Thought and Life*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (Garden City, New York, 1963), p. 30.

41. Leonid Ouspensky, "The Symbolism of the Church," in A. J. Philippou (ed.), *The Orthodox Ethos* (Oxford, 1964), p. 153.

42. Davies, p. 33.

"a place for devout silence,"⁴³ he now finds the silent worshipper part of a non-participating congregation. We must remark that participation can be understood in a number of ways. If it is a simple matter of activity (speaking, singing, respondings, etc.), we might hold up the active rejoicing of the Jews before the golden calf for which Aaron built an altar (Exodus 32:19) as free from the defect of spectatorship. By the same token, we can fault the Apostles for their inactivity before the awesome wonder of the Light of the Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor. Our point, we think, is clear. Reverent, silent wonder before the Divine Mystery of the liturgy is not so much a defect as it is a positive attribute of Orthodox worship, and it certainly does not automatically engender spectatoritis.

We cannot resist a further notation on the accusation of spectatorship as a characteristic of Orthodox worship. A corollary of this imputation is the charge that Orthodox services are long, monotonous, and concentrated away from the worshipper. He is expected to stand and watch interminable activities both out of visual and attentional range. These notions wholly misrepresent the rationale of liturgical worship. As Father Schmemmann writes of the Lenten series of services, we must understand "why the services [have] to be long and seemingly monotonous. We understand that it is simply impossible to pass from our normal state of mind made up almost entirely of fuss, rush, and care, into this new one without first 'quieting down,' without restoring in ourselves a measure of inner stability."⁴⁴ The supposed spectatorial aspects of the liturgy, then, are in actuality the means by which participation "in a different world"⁴⁵ is effected. They are the aspects of worship which give us "mysterious liberation" and transform the service: "What at first appeared as monotony now is revealed as peace."⁴⁶ Similarly, what to the casual observer appears as spectatorship in the Orthodox congregation is quite another thing.

It may seem that our critical appraisal of Professor Davies' assessment of Orthodox worship has been in the style of setting up the proverbial 'straw man' and then with ease making re-

43. Ibid.

44. Alexander Schmemmann, *Great Lent* (Crestwood, New York, 1969), p. 33.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

medial addenda. After all, Davies is neither an expert on the Eastern Orthodox Church nor is he a pretender to that status. Additionally, his chapter was written at a time when reliable surveys of Orthodox worship were not as commonplace as they now are. However, our purpose has not been to make an *ad hominem* presentation. We have the deepest respect for Professor Davies' scholarly credentials and contributions to the history of ecclesiastical worship. Our goal has simply been to use Professor Davies' short essay as a paradigmatic case of the uncritical and often biased treatments which Eastern Orthodoxy receives at the hands of many Western commentators. As such, his essay has provided a forum in which to comment on misconceptions about Orthodox worship that abound in countless other (and less learned) writers. It is, in effect, in the light of the junior author's recent commentary on Dom David Knowles' consideration of Orthodox hesychasm⁴⁷ that we present these observations: with an eye toward decisive and clear expositions of Orthodox qualifications to Western mistreatments of the Orthodox witness.

Secondarily, we should note that Western scholars have often had academic *carte blanche* in dealing with the Greek Church. Encyclopedic considerations of Eastern Orthodoxy are replete with errors, misapprehensions, and inaccuracies.⁴⁸ Scholars who otherwise proceed with cautious attention to detail somehow forego their usual sagacity when they encounter the Eastern Church. And this tendency, as we noted earlier, is complicated by the fact that many Orthodox writers are themselves the victims of misapprehensions about their own tradition. Further adding to an already difficult situation is the fact that in America a unified Orthodox voice is not all that easy to find, owing to the jurisdictional separation of the Orthodox popula-

47. See Matthew G. Chapman, "Dom David Knowles on Hesychasm: A Palamite Rejoinder," *Kleronomia*, 1976, in press.

48. For example, the recently issued *People's Almanac* considers the Orthodox Church a religious body which owes its inception to a rupture with the Church of Rome in 1054. This simply reinforces an assumption which we have long considered unfair. Since the Eastern Patriarchates can hearken to the most ancient Christian heritage (and the preponderance of Apostolic Sees), it is a matter of perspective as to whether the Orthodox Church separated from Rome or whether Rome separated from the Eastern Church. Whatever the case, it is ludicrous to write in a popular reference work that the Orthodox Church first surfaced in the eleventh century.

tion.⁴⁹ Under these circumstances, we find critical appraisals of existing misapprehensive treatments of Orthodoxy both valuable to other Christians and to Orthodox Christians themselves.

49. If there is any question about the complexity of the jurisdictional issue in American Orthodoxy, one glance at Archimandrite Seraphim's recent consideration of Orthodox jurisdictional politics in America should suffice to dispel any ideas of that issue being anything but formidable. See Archimandrite Seraphim [Surrency], *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America* (New York, 1973), especially chapter seven.

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**THE "NEOMARTYRS" AS EVIDENCE FOR
METHODS AND MOTIVES LEADING TO CONVERSION
AND MARTYRDOM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

In the Ottoman Empire numerous non-Muslims of diverse ethnic backgrounds were converted to Islam. Many were either induced or forced to apostatize, while many more made the change voluntarily. Nevertheless, extensive testimony not only of contemporary Christian writers, both Eastern and Western, but also of Turkish, corroborates the fact that a considerable number of Christians preferred death rather than apostasy.

The present article, based on a variety of sources and principally on the *bioi* (vitae) of 172 Greek Orthodox neomartyrs, seeks to examine two aspects of Christian martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire. First, the methods and tactics used by the Turkish authorities as well as by the populace in their efforts to gain converts to Islam; and, second, the motives which led Christians to martyrdom.

But how reliable are our sources? Undoubtedly, in their recording of data, including events, names, places, and even chronologies the authors seem to be accurate and trustworthy. However, in their inferences and interpretation they appear to have been influenced by their own religious affiliation, their interests, and their biases. The nature of the sources, their simplicity and lack of sophistication do not provide evidence for extensive attention to the historical context within which the martyrdom occurred. Neither do we have enough ground to answer questions pertaining to economic, political, or social factors which might have led to martyrdom. The available sources speak mostly in religious terms and emphasize the underlying existence of a conflict between Christianity and Islam.

Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century about the state of the Greek and Armenian Churches under Ottoman rule, Paul Ricaut, the British consul in Smyrna who travelled widely

within the Ottoman Empire and became an astute observer of its religious and social scene, made several important observations which can be summarized as follows: first, the Turks expelled Christians from many of their churches, converting them to mosques; second, the "Mysteries of the Altar" were concealed in secret and dark places, vaults, and sepulchres, having their roofs almost levelled with the surface of the earth; third, many Christians turned "Mohametans" and many numbers "flocked daily to the profession of Turcism"; and fourth, Christian priests, in the Eastern parts of Asia Minor in particular, were forced to live with caution and officiate in obscurity and privacy, fearing the temper of the Turks. Ricaut adds that, considering the oppression and contempt put upon the Greek Church, as well as the allurements, worldly pleasures, and privileges that Christians would enjoy by becoming Muslims, the stable perseverance of the Greek Church is a confirmation of God's presence "no less convincing than the miracles and power which attended the beginnings of the early church."¹ Furthermore, he implies the existence of crypto-Christians and confirms the use of coercive methods which the Turks employed to gain converts. Of course forcible conversions to Islam and the existence of crypto-Christians as well as neomartyrs were not rare phenomena in the Greek and other provinces conquered by the Turks from as early as the last quarter of the eleventh century. This has been convincingly discussed and documented on the basis of Turkish, Greek, Near Eastern, and other sources by Professor Speros Vryonis in his monumental work on the decline and elimination of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor.² Here we are concerned with events following the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

According to several accounts, from the conquest of Constantinople to the last phase of the Greek War of Independence, the Ottoman Turks condemned to death eleven Ecumenical Patriarchs of Constantinople, nearly one hundred bishops, and

1. Paul Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (London, 1679; Reprinted New York, 1970), pp. 1-30.

2. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 340-43 and especially chapter five, pp. 351-402. See also F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1929), pp. 452-59.

several thousand priests, deacons, and monks.³ It is impossible to say with certainty how many men of the cloth were forced to apostatize. Nevertheless, many preferred martyrdom to apostacy, and of the above thousands, several have been canonized and raised to sainthood by the Greek Orthodox Church.

In a brief but pioneer article in the English language about Eastern Orthodox neomartyrs, the leading Belgian hagiology expert Hippolyte Delehaye wrote some fifty years ago that "the perfidy of the Turks knew no limits" and that they used ingenious and varied means to induce numerous Christians to convert to Islam. He added: "The martyrology of Christians of the Orient, who were victims of Mussulman fanaticism, contains many interesting and often moving pages that may be compared to the venerable monuments of the history of ancient persecutions." Was Delehaye harsh in his indictment of the Turks? On the other hand, a modern American scholar, either ignores or totally minimizes the persecution of Christians under the Turks.⁴ What is the verdict of the sources?

Even though we will never know the exact number of Christians put to death by the Turks, a study of even a few score of neomartyrs may suffice to provide us with concrete evidence concerning the status of Christians in the Ottoman state and the reasons for which many were condemned to death. It is a sensitive subject, and while Christian historians should not be emotional about it, neither should political expediency and personal sympathies prevent historians from seeking the historical truth.

When Delehaye wrote his essay, the sources for the history of Greek Orthodox neomartyrs were scattered and limited. Our knowledge about them is still conditioned by the lack of critical editions of martyrologies and hagiographies, but we are now

3. E. Pouqueville, *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1824); K.A. Bobolines, *Η ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΙΩΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ* (Athens, 1952); Ioannes M. Perantones, *ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ*, vols. 1-3 (Athens, 1972), 1:14. In addition to the extensive bibliography provided by Perantones, 1:21-25, as well as following the vita of each saint, one should include now the important study of Professor Ioannes A. Anastasiou, "Σχεδιάσμα περί τῶν Νεομαρτύρων," *ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ* (Thessalonike, 1971), pp. 9-61; P.N. Paparounis, *ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ* (Athens, no date), pp. 329-48.

4. Hippolyte Delehaye, "Greek Neomartyrs," *The Constructive Quarterly*, 9 (New York, 1921), 701; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vols. 1-2 (Cambridge, 1976), 1:19, 24. This is a history from a Turkish point of view. It is based primarily on Turkish accounts.

in a much better position to study this chapter of church history under Ottoman captivity. The recently published *Lexikon of Neo-Martyrs* provides a fully documented account of the life and martyrdom of a substantial number of Greek Orthodox Christians and sufficient evidence for the study of the methods and means used by the Turks for the conversion of Christians to Islam.

To be sure, there were political, economic, and social motives which contributed to apostacy from Christianity to Islam. All three motives are related to the organizational structure of the Ottoman state. Politically, any subject who desired to rise into the ruling class had to be either a nuscent or a convert to Islam. A certain number of Christians became Muslims because of political aspirations. Socially, non-Muslims were second-class citizens. Rise up the social ladder presupposed conversion to Islam. It is obvious that many became Muslims because of social considerations. Economic reasons might have been the most powerful of the motives for apostacy. The greatest economic burden which was placed upon the non-Muslim population was the harac, a poll tax that reduced many to poverty. The Janisaries, the human levy imposed on every Christian family, were converted to Islam at an early age and are not included in any one of these three non-religious classifications. Even though the sources, both Greek and Western European, are silent on this point, it is conceivable that a number of Christians were converted to Islam on their own initiative. Islam's simple and direct monotheism, its unphilosophical theology, and its doctrine of predestination, as well as the sensuous promises of heaven, might have appealed especially to the simple-minded. But it is impossible to say how many were attracted to Islam and to Turkization on purely intellectual, ethical, or emotional grounds. It is more logical to accept the view that since religious tradition is a very conservative element and holds its followers linked with the past, conversion on theological and intellectual bases must have been rather rare. It seems that many of those who professed Christianity only in name welcomed economic, political, and social opportunities as well as other promises of Islam to make the change. This paper assumes that most of the converts to Islam belong to one or more of these categories.

However, the martyrologies reveal that the Turks either

adopted systematic schemes or exploited incidental occasions to entice Christians to their creed. Because of their ignorance of Islamic law, customs, behavior, language, and tradition, many Christians found themselves before the courts for insignificant reasons and were given the choice either to apostatize or to face imprisonment and even death. Most of the 172 cases of the neomartyrs confirm the validity of these observations.

Conversion to Islam as an alternative to torture and death was an inheritance from previous centuries which can be traced back to early Mohammedanism. In the first quarter of the eighth century, Caliphs such as Al-Walid I, Suleiman, Omar II, and Yazid II, had adopted a policy which stressed either Islamization or death.⁵ As far as the Ottoman period is concerned (excluding the Seljukid centuries) the policy of conversion or death was applied soon after the Ottoman State's inception. For example, a certain Michael Pylles, a Greek from Ephesos who served as a secretary in the court of Murad II, was accused of intrigue. He was mercilessly tortured but was given the choice of apostasy or death by burning. He chose to become a Muslim, as a result of which he was set free, receiving both honors and material rewards.⁶

Pylles was not an exception. The writings of the Turkish poet and prince Danishmend Ahmet Gazi, founder of one of the strongest Turkoman principalities in Eastern Turkey, indicate that conversion of Christians by the sword was common. In many instances prisoners as well as inhabitants of conquered territories were given the choice of either conversion or death. In the course of his campaign against the city of Comana, Malik Danishmend was determined either to convert the inhabitants or to massacre them. After the capture of Comana, the populace opted for conversion rather than extermination. The citizens of Euchaita faced the same dilemma. When Malik conquered the city, he offered its inhabitants the choice of death or Islamization. The same Turkish poet relates that in one city, nearly 5,000 people accepted Islam, while a similar num-

5. Demetrios J. Constantelos, "The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as Revealed in the Greek Sources of the Seventh and the Eighth Centuries," *Byzantion*, 42.2 (1972), 338-41.

6. Doukas, Ch. 28.104. ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), pp. 186-87.

ber of its inhabitants were put to the sword.⁷ Religion was not merely an expression of individual faith, but also a definition of human behavior and a manifestation of the individual's place in the state. Thus Islamization meant Turkization. A convert to Islam who decided to return to the Christian faith was perceived not only as an apostate but also as a traitor to the Ottoman state. Several neomartyrs were put to death on suspicion of treason.

Legally, Ottoman rulers upheld the theory according to which "the people of the Book," Jews and Christians, as well as their religious institutions, were to be tolerated. However, the life of neomartyrs confirms that the letter of the law did not restrain dervishes, ulemas, ordinary laymen, and even Caliphs from openly conducting conversions to Islam. The dichotomy between theoretical and legal provisions and actual practices is evident throughout the Ottoman era. Legal arguments were frequently ignored or became oblivious to historical realities. Turkish and other sources indicate that many ghazi were possessed with fervor for the conversion of Christians to their faith.⁸ Thus, in addition to economic, social, and political allurements, the religious fanaticism, spite, vengeance, and missionary zeal of the Muslim Turks took a heavy toll of Christians who either converted or were martyred.

The French traveller to the Ottoman Empire Antoine Galland recorded in his calendar on 2 September 1674 the following episode:

Today the Turks did a perfidy to a young Greek who was tutored by a Turk. While he was tutored, some Mussulmans, who were nearby, handed over to the teacher a piece of paper with the Islamic creed of faith written on it. They asked the Turkish teacher to turn it over to his young student asking him to read it aloud. They wanted to learn for themselves whether the young Greek could read Turkish fluently. Unsuspicious of the trick, the youth read the paper aloud. No sooner had he finished than the Turks immediately seized him and took him before a judge. They testified that the

7. Irène Mélikoff, Editor, *La geste de Melik Dánismend, Étude Critique du Dánismendname*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1960), pp. 257, 270, 280, 284, 380, 384, 414-16. See also Vryonis, pp. 176-78.

8. Vryonis, pp. 356-58.

Greek youth had read in their presence the Moslem creed, the *Salabat*; therefore, he was expected to become a Moslem. In protest the young man answered that he had been deceived and that he had no intention of changing his Christian faith. The judge ordered that the youth be put to torture. When he insisted on adhering to his faith, he was thrown into prison where he was kept for a month, refusing to apostatize. He must have been between the age of 18 and 20 when he was beheaded.⁹

The French traveller did not record the martyr's name but modern scholarship has identified him as the neomartyr Nicholas of Karpenision, whose story has been reconstructed as follows:

At the age of fifteen Nicholas came to Constantinople with his father, where the latter opened a shop in Tachtakala. A Mussulman barber, their neighbour, at the request of the father, gave Nicholas lessons in Turkish. The Mussulman looked forward to leading his pupil to change his religion and communicated his plan to the soldiers who frequented his house. And together they hatched a plot. The barber transcribed the *Salabati*, a profession of the Islamic faith. When the young man presented himself for his lesson, in the presence of the soldiers, the barber placed the paper before him. Suspecting nothing, Nicholas began to read it. When he had reached the end, the soldiers cried: "you have become a Turk; you have pronounced the *Salabati*." Stupefied and indignant, Nicholas protested hotly: "I am a Christian and not a Turk. I read what my master gives me for my lesson." But he was dragged before the Caimacan. The fatal paper served as proof of the odious accusation. After a long imprisonment and all sorts of ill treatment Nicholas was condemned to death.¹⁰

He was beheaded on 23 September 1672. His martyrdom was recorded by a third person, De la Croix, secretary of the French Embassy in Constantinople.¹¹

9. Antoine Galland, *Journal pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1670-1673)* (Paris, 1881).

10. Delehaye, p. 705; Perantones, 3:393-96.

11. De la Croix, *La Turquie Chrétienne sous la puissante protection de Louis le Grand Protecteur unique du Christianisme en Orient* (Paris, 1695), pp. 327-79.

Turkish cunning and excuses in the conversion of Christians to Islam was observed by other foreign travellers to the Ottoman Empire. The Englishman Joseph Wolff relates that when a young man named Panagiotis, in his ignorance of Islamic law entered the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, some fanatic Turks grabbed him and brought him before the Pasha of Damascus as a defiler of the Islamic temple. The Pasha offered him the chance of becoming a Muslim in order to avoid death. Panagiotis remained steadfast to his Christian faith, and for that reason he was beheaded in the early nineteenth century (before 1839).¹²

When contrary to Turkish law, and for some economic or social purpose, a Christian dressed in the Turkish manner, even if he put on Turkish shoes or a red fez, he was forced to become a Muslim. Nicholas of Magnesia is an appropriate illustration. Counting on the good reputation of his father, who was supervisor of the estates of a prominent Agha, Nicholas, a young man of twenty-two, engaged to get married, dressed well, put on Turkish shoes and a red fez, and went to the city. He was recognized by some Turks as a Christian, and he was reported to the judge as a violator of Turkish custom. The judge asked Nicholas whether his manner of dress indicated a desire to become a Muslim. When the young Christian refused to apostatize, he was beaten and finally was condemned to death on 24 April 1796.¹³

Sometimes even words, expressed by Christians in moments of anger, were exploited and used against them. For example, Onouphrios, the son of prosperous parents in the Greek Tyrnavos, when only eight or nine was scolded by his parents for some disobedience. In the moment of his humiliation and anger, Onouphrios cried out: "I will become a Turk!" The Turks who heard of this seized the young boy and were ready to circumcize him. Because of his age, the parents were able to take him back. Onouphrios eventually fled to Mt. Athos where he became a monk. Nevertheless, he lived with a guilty conscience and was determined to cleanse himself of the impurity through martyrdom. It is not necessary to recount here the story of his

12. Jos. Wolffe, *In A Series of Letters to Sir Thomas Bering Bert* (London, 1839), pp. 232-38.

13. Perantones, 3:404-06.

life from his departure from Mt. Athos to his death. He was put to death by the Turks on 4 January 1818.¹⁴

The Martyrologion indicates that while some Turkish authorities might have been reluctant to pursue the conversion of Christians, zealous Muslim individuals or groups resorted to various machinations to induce Christians to adopt their faith, including the charms of women. The wife of a prominent Turk solicited the sexual favors of the Greek tailor Doukas. When Doukas resisted her advances, she accused him of having assailed her honor. Doukas was offered the chance to become a Turk in order to receive pardon but when he refused, he was flayed alive on 24 April 1564.¹⁵

The 172 cases can be classified in five major categories of martyrdom. Some martyrs were accused of being political offenders and traitors to the Ottoman state; others were charged with being agitators because they had advocated a better treatment of Christians or because they had spoken on behalf of justice. For example, the Metropolitan of Corinth, Zacharias, executed in 1684, was accused of maintaining a correspondence with the Venetians. At his trial Zacharias insisted that he was innocent of the accusation but the Turks beat him cruelly. He was offered pardon on condition that he apostatize to Islam. When the Metropolitan refused, the judge condemned him to death by torture.¹⁶ There are fifteen more neomartyrs in this category listed in appendix D.1.

The second category includes martyrs who were native Ottomans and were brought up in the Islamic faith. For some reason, however, either on their own initiative or through the efforts of missionaries they became Christians. A Muslim was forbidden to deny his faith on pain of death. The same rule applied to all Muslims whether by birth or by conversion. The Roman Catholic missionary Francis Lucas of Smyrna recorded the extraordinary martyrdom of twenty-three Muslim Turks who were put to death in the year 1649 at Thyateira, Asia Minor. In addition to the anonymous martyrs in this category, we know of five more listed in appendix D.2. Some may have been of Christian ancestry.

14. Delehay, p. 208; Perantones, 3:409-13.

15. Perantones, 1:176-77.

16. Delehay, p. 704.

The third class of martyrs includes zealous Christians who conducted missionary activity either among Christians trying to sustain them in their faith, or among Muslims and Jews. For example, the monk Makarios, prompted by missionary enthusiasm, decided to preach before a large crowd of Muslims in a market place in Thessalonike. He was apprehended by the Turkish authorities and was thrown into the prison. After several tortures, he was offered pardon on condition that he embrace Islam. When he refused to apostatize, he was beheaded in the year 1527.¹⁷ In addition to Makarios, fifteen more were put to death because of missionary activity (see appendix D).

Closely related to the previous list, there were some idealistic men who aspired to earn the crown of martyrdom in imitation of the ancient Christian martyrs. The reading of martyrologies and lives of saints was popular in the Greek Church under Ottoman captivity and it exerted an influence to the extent that some tried to imitate the early heroes of Christianity. For instance, Romanos, from central Greece, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. While a guest at the Monastery of St. Sabbas, he was inspired by listening to the Acts of the Martyrs, which was read during a meal in the monastery. He desired to become a martyr himself and his desire was fulfilled in 1694.¹⁸ Four more belong to this category (appendix D.4).

The fifth and most numerous category includes men and women who, for various reasons and at different stages of their life, apostatized from Greek Orthodox Christianity to Islam and later decided to return to their ancestral faith. Guilt not as an aspect of personality structure as psychological theory advocates, but a guilt which arose from a precise kind of behavior and from specific circumstances and events. Many of them, seeking atonement for having denied their faith, became martyrs. For example, Demetrios of Tripolis in the Peloponnese as an orphan entered the service of a Muslim who converted him to Islam. Upon becoming an adult and reflecting on his apostasy, he left Tripolis and sought the advice of a spiritual father. He confessed his apostasy and was received in secret by the church. Nevertheless, he had no peace of mind and felt the need to atone for his sin with martyrdom. He returned to

17. Perantones, 3:325-526.

18. Perantones, 3:443-47; Delehay, pp. 706-07.

Tripolis, where he presented himself to his old master as a Christian ready to wash away the stain of his apostasy with his blood. The outcome was that he was put to death on 14 April 1803.¹⁹ We know by name fifty-two more who sought atonement by martyrdom. (See appendix D.5).

No less important are the forty-eight additional neomartyrs who were condemned to death for diverse reasons. Some were accused of insulting the Muslim faith or of throwing something against the wall of a mosque. Others were accused of sexual advances toward a Turk; still others of making a public confession such as "I will become a Turk" without meaning it.²⁰ There are several more whose reason of condemnation is not stated by the sources. Their names are mentioned but very little else. They are listed in appendix D.6.

The existence of neomartyrs attests to a religious revival in the Greek Orthodox Church, which however did not take place in the seventeenth century, as a modern scholar suggests,²¹ but in the eighteenth. In fact most neomartyrs were put to death in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Six became martyrs between 1453 and 1499; twenty-two between 1500 and 1599; thirty-eight between 1600 and 1699; fifty-one between 1700 and 1799; and fifty-five between 1800 and 1867.

Most of the neomartyrs came from the lower classes and from the provinces. Several professions were represented, including physicians, teachers, and of course, the clergy. But the majority were from various ranks: farmers, artisans, traders, secretaries, merchants, barbers, gardeners, grocers, sailors, house-domestics, traveling vendors, coffee-house keepers, and more. The three appendices added to this article illustrate the chronological period, geographical origins, and professional background of the neomartyrs.

Thus, evidence unmistakably indicates that the Turks used both systematic and circumstantial measures to attract Christians to Islam. High political and socially prominent positions were granted to apostates in order to entice Christians to Islamic conversion. Exemption from heavy taxes, including

19. Perantones, 1:163-65; Delehay, p. 707.

20. Perantones, 3:409, 421, 470; Delehay, p. 708.

21. Mario Vitti, "Ο Νεομάρτυρας Μάρκος Κυριακόπουλος πού ἀποκεφαλίστηκε στὴ Σμύρνη τῷ 1643," ΜΙΚΡΑΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ, 10 (1963), 89.

the poll tax, was no less powerful an enticement. To influence people from lower social strata, apostates from poor Christian families were given riches and honors by the Turks. For men there were some additional allurements to Islam, sexual hedonism, for example. Polygamy was forbidden by the Christian Church but allowed by Islam; concubinage was condemned by church canons but it was a life style for many Muslims.

Apart from Turkish methods and means, there were historical events and religious trends that led Christians to embrace Islam. The progress of the Turks was perceived by some Christians as evidence that their God had abandoned them and was fighting on the side of the Turks. Religious syncretism was one of the most innocent seeming ways by which Christians were persuaded to change their religious creed. This trend was used extensively by dervishes in their religious mission. For example, Badral-Din, Torlak, Hu-kemal, and Burklud e Mustafa preached that there was harmony between Islam and Christianity.²² Christians concluded that since there was a close affinity between the two, why not apostatize to Islam and enjoy worldly privileges as well?

Notwithstanding the material gains that Christians would have enjoyed by converting to Islam, the story of the neomartyrs reveals that in the course of four hundred years there were many who obeyed the dictates of conscience rather than the enticements of secular pleasures. The usual answer of the neomartyrs to the courts which offered them conversion as an alternative to death was: "I was born a Christian, I desire to die a Christian." The story of the neomartyrs indicates that there was no liberty of conscience in the Ottoman Empire and that religious persecution was never absent from that state. Justice was subject to the passions of judges as well as of the crowds, and it was applied with a double standard, lenient for Muslims harsh for Christians and others.

The view that the Ottoman Turks pursued a policy of religious toleration in order to promote a fusion of the Turks with the conquered populations²³ is not sustained by the facts. Undoubtedly, many Christians, Jews, and members of other

22. Vryonis, pp. 358-59, see also note 16 for sources.

23. L. Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantine: Vie et Mort de Byzance* (Paris, 1947); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 (New York, 1973), p. 769.

religious minorities converted to Islam voluntarily. But what alternative did they have if they wanted to improve their social status? Those who did not want to be second class citizens, *rayahs* or part of the subject class, became Muslims in order to preserve their social status. That is those people were not converted by the threat of the sword but by psychological and social constraints.

The relatively few neomartyrs of the second half of the fifteenth century may be an indication of the rather tolerant attitude of Sultan Mohammed II, an attitude, however, determined much more by the horror, the pillage, and the destruction which followed the capture of Constantinople. On the other hand, the small number of neomartyrs between 1700 and 1760 reflects the better conditions and relevant peace that prevailed in the Ottoman Empire.

Forced conversions, which also resulted in martyrdom, were often determined by the character and policies of individual Sultans, by internal problems, and by international events. For example, mass forced conversions were recorded during the caliphates of Selim I (1512-1520), the madman's Selim II (1566-1574), and Murat III (1574-1595). On the occasion of some anniversary, such as the capture of a city, or national holiday, many *rayahs* were forced to apostatize. On the day of the circumcision of Mohammed III great numbers of Christians (Albanians, Greeks, Slavs) were forced to convert to Islam.²⁴

During the second half of the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire was engaged in several wars with Russia, and the revolutionary developments in Western Europe spread fear and xenophobia among the Turks. It was under such circumstances that mass conversions to Islam took place and many Christians were put to death. For example in 1760 all the inhabitants of thirty-six Albanian villages embraced Islam.²⁵ Of the fifty-one neomartyrs of the eighteenth century, the overwhelming majority of them (thirty-nine) were put to death between 1760 and 1796, that is during the Russo-Turkish wars. The great number of neomartyrs of the nineteenth century is explained on the basis of international events which affected the fate of the Ottoman Empire. The Greek revolt for indepen-

24. George Finlay, *A History of Greece*, 5 (Oxford, 1877), p. 119.

25. E. Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grece*, 1, 206.

dence provided additional ground and pretensions for persecution of Greek Christians. While at no time was toleration of Christians an established rule and it depended upon the arbitrary will of the Sultans and his subordinates, now few judges and village rulers paid any attention to whatever privileges had been granted in theory to the *rayahs*.

Some students of psycho-history have tried to explain religious martyrdom in terms of compulsive suicidal desires. For example, it has been stated that "suicide thinly disguised as martyrdom was the rock on which the Church had first been founded."²⁶ The life and martyrdom of the Greek Orthodox neomartyrs reveal that there were several dynamics at work, and as the appendices indicate martyrdom cannot be explained in personality structures and psychological terms.

Undoubtedly former apostates from Christianity possessed the desire to atone under "the weight of excessive guilt,"²⁷ but the majority of neomartyrs followed neither a uniform ritualistic behavior nor an identical pattern. There is no evidence, not even indications, that they were compulsive neurotics who sought martyrdom in order to escape from fear and anxiety, or to achieve notoriety and fame for posterity.

The Orthodox Church under Ottoman rule lived under perpetual insecurity and the faithful were actually trained for adverse circumstances and even for defence of their faith with martyrdom. Life after death, reward for virtue and steadfast faith, and a faith in a kingdom of heaven—these were realities for the Orthodox faithful. As we have seen, only a handful sought martyrdom for the sake of martyrdom or in imitation of early Christian martyrs. Most of the neomartyrs were simple and unpretentious folk people and their martyrdom reveals that it was not "suicide thinly disguised" but the result of lofty ideals and a powerful commitment to the moral and eschatological teachings of Christianity.

As in early Christianity, likewise during the Ottoman period, motives for martyrdom derived from various teachings of Christ

26. The statement is attributed to A. Alvarez. See Seymour Byman, "Ritualistic Acts and Compulsive Behavior: The Pattern of Tudor Martyrdom," *The American Historical Review*, 83.3 (June 1978), p. 627 n. 9.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 626. Byman cites Erik Erikson whose work has given much ground for psycho-history.

as well as from the experience of the primitive church.²⁸ Perhaps imitation of Christ's example was one of the prominent motives. Martyrdom was identical to confession of faith before infidels or enemies of Christianity. Christ was the first and foremost of all martyrs, who offered himself in self-sacrifice. And it was He who had said: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father who is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father, who is in Heaven" (Mt. 10:32-33).

Furthermore for people who believed that they were sojourners on earth whose Lord was "at hand" (Mt. 4:17, Lk. 12:36) and who believed in the coming of the final era, martyrdom was the climax of devotion to their God. The desire for atonement of former apostates who suffered from a guilty conscience was ever present. Undoubtedly some sought martyrdom because of the Church's teaching that martyrdom was a second baptism, which meant a catharsis from all sins.

However, like the lapsed Christians of the Roman persecutions, who were chided for their failure to witness and even die for their faith,²⁹ the lapsed Christians under the Turks were often rebuked by saintly monks and devout clergymen. Not a few received the blessings and the encouragement of their "spiritual fathers" before they made their witness before their judge and executioners.³⁰ The example and the deeds of the early Christians not only sustained but also inspired many Christians under the Turks. The simplicity, the directness, even the naiveté of the accounts, as well as the horror associated with the tortures of the neomartyrs are reminiscent of martyrdoms in the early Church.³¹

A few more observations. A church which was able to produce men and women with a living faith and a commitment to spiritual values and principles could not have been a moribund church, or a church involved only in ritual and concerned with barren tradition, as the Orthodox Church has been portrayed by Western Christendom in the eighteenth and nine-

28. See W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (New York, 1967), 13-14, 150-52, 260-64, 265, 270, 473.

29. See Cyprian, *Treatise 3: On the Lapsed*, and *Treatise 11: Exhortation to Martyrdom*. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 5 (Grand Rapids, 1957), 437-47, 496-97.

30. Perantones 3:370, 387, 434-35.

31. See Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.1-2.

teenth centuries. It was not solely an ecumenical brotherly gesture by the President of the Society of the Bolandists when he wrote: "The neomartyrs are the purest glory of the Greek Church, and before these generous witnesses to the faith which we hold in common every Christian should bow."³²

If it is true that the blood of the early Christian martyrs, under Roman persecution, became the seed of Christianity, as Tertullian remarked in the second century,³³ the blood of the neomartyrs was not shed in vain, for it inspired and nourished Greek Orthodox Christianity under Turkish persecution.

APPENDICES

A. *Chronological distribution (1453-1867)*

1. 1453-1499 = 6
2. 1500-1599 = 22
3. 1600-1699 = 38
4. 1700-1799 = 51
5. 1800-1867 = 56

B. *Geographical distribution (place of birth)*

Place of birth is not always mentioned.

1. The Capital—Constantinople = 14
2. Asia Minor = 24
3. Thrace = 13
4. Macedonia = 15
5. Epiros = 12

32. Delehaye, p. 712.

33. Tertullian, *Apology*, 50.

6.	Thessaly	= 6
7.	Central Greece (Attica, etc.)	= 11
8.	Peloponnesos	= 16
9.	Aegean Islands	= 19
10.	Crete	= 12
11.	Cyprus	= 3
12.	Ionian Islands	= 2
13.	Non-Greek states (Serbia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Rumania, Egypt, Syria, Russia, Jerusalem)	= 20

C. *Distribution by professions.*

Profession is not always mentioned. Only four were from wealthy and socially prominent families. Professions are listed as they occur in the alphabetical arrangement of the neomartyrs. Total number of professions represented is thirty-five.

<i>Artisans</i>	= 24	<i>Servants</i>	= 11
<i>Clergymen</i>	= 34	<i>Housewives</i>	= 5
<i>Shop keepers</i>	= 13	<i>Seamen</i>	= 5
<i>Civil servants</i>	= 6	<i>Farmers</i>	= 12
<i>Physicians</i>	= 1	<i>Merchants</i>	= 7
<i>Ordinary laborers</i>	= 2	<i>Military Men</i>	= 1

D. *Distribution according to reason for martyrdom*

1. Political offenders and social agitators

The Three Anonymous of Peloponnesos (1786)	Joannes of Crete (1811)
Apostolos of Pelion (1667)	Bishop Methodios (1793)
Archbishop Gabriel (1659)	Michael Paknanas (1771)
Georgios of Crete (1867)	Patriarch Methodios III (1657)
Patriarch Gregory V (1821)	Serapheim of Agrapha (1601)
Metropolitan Dionysios (1611)	Stamatios of Volos (1680)
Iakovos of Kastoria (1520)	Zacharias of Corinth (1684)

2. Nascent Ottomans converted to Christianity

Twenty-three Anonymous Turks of Thyateira (1649)	Ioannes the Musulman (1814)
Achmet Kalfas (1682)	Konstantine Agarenos (1819)
	Hotza Amires (1614)

3. Christian missionary activity

Anastasios Paneres (1819)
 Patriarch Gabriel (1659)
 Gennadios (1818)
 Georgios of Servia (1515)
 Georgios of Neapolis (1797)
 David (1813)
 Damianos the Monk (1568)
 Demetrios of Samarina (1808)

Dionysios the Monk (1520)
 Joannes Kalfas (1575)
 Kosmas Aitolos (1779)
 Michael Mauroudes (1547)
 Makarios the Monk (1527)
 Niketas of Epiros (1809)
 Philothee Benizelou (1589), a woman
 Christodoulos (1777)

4. Imitation of early martyrs

Anastasios (1743)
 Ioannes of Thessalonike (1803)
 Ioasaph the Monk (1536)

Kyprianos (1679)
 Romanos of Karpenesion (1694)

5. Atonement for apostacy from Christianity to Islam and return to Christianity

Agathangelos (1818)
 Angelis the Physician (1813)
 Akakios (1816)
 Akylina (1764), a woman
 Alexandros (1794)
 Anastasios of Nauplion (1655)
 Demetrios of Tripolis (1803)
 Gedeon of Demetrias (1818)
 Gerasimos of Karpenesion (1812)
 Georgios the Iberian (1770)
 Georgios of Philadelphia (1794)
 Georgios of Ephesos (1801)
 Georgios of Chios (1807)
 Georgios of Attaleia (1823)
 Georgios of Samothrace (1835)
 Manouel of Samothrace (1835)
 Theodore of Samothrace (1835)
 Georgios the Younger (1835)
 Georgios of Ioannina (1836)
 Damaskenos (1681)
 Demetrios of Philadelphia (1657)
 Demetrios of Chios (1802)
 Demetrios of Peloponnesos (1803)
 Ethymios of Demetsana (1814)
 Zacharias (1782)

Zacharias the Monk (1802)
 Elias Ardounis (1686)
 Theodore of Mytilene (1784)
 Theodoros Byzantios (1795)
 Theophanes of Constantinople (1559)
 Ilarion (1804)
 Ioannes Naukleros (1669)
 Ioannes of Bulgaria (1784)
 Joseph the Painter (1819)
 Konstantinos the Russian (1743)
 Konstantinos of Hydra (1800)
 Loukas of Adrianople (1802)
 Manouel of Sfakia (1792)
 Markos of Smyrne (1643)
 Markos of Chios (1801)
 Metros or Demetrios the Peloponnesian (1794)
 Michael Vourliotes (1772)
 Nektarios of Vryoula (1820)
 Niketas of Nisyros (1732)
 Nikodemos of Elvasan (1709)
 Nicholas of Metsovon (1617)
 Polydoros of Leukosia (1794)
 Prokopios (1810)
 Christophoros of Adrianople (1818)

6. Various reasons

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Angelis (1680) | Joseph Haleples (1686) |
| Athanasios of Khios (1670) | Kyranna (1751), a woman |
| Athanasios of Attaleia (1700) | Lazaros the Shepherd (1802) |
| Athanasios of Thessalonike (1774) | Makarios (1590) |
| Argyre (1721), a woman | Malachias (1500) |
| Auxentios (1720) | Myron of Mega Kastron (1793) |
| Gabriel (1522) | Nicholaos of Ichtys Corinthias (1554) |
| Kyrmidolis (1522) | Nicholaos Karamanos (1657) |
| Gabriel of Prince Islands (1676) | Nicholaos of Karpenesion (1672) |
| Georgios Kyprios (1752) | Nicholaos of Chios (1754) |
| Damaskenos of Tyrnobo (1771) | Nicholaos of Magnesia (1796) |
| Demetrios Tornaras (1564) | Onouphrios (1818) |
| Demetrios of Constantinople (1784) | Panagiotes of Jerusalem (1830's) |
| Demos or Demetrios of Smyrna (1763) | Paulos the Russian (1683) |
| Doukas of Mytilene (1564) | Paulos the Peloponnesian (1818) |
| Iordanes (1650) | Pachomios (1730) |
| Ioannes of Asprokastro (1492) | Romanos of Lacedaimon (1695) |
| Ioannes the Taylor (1526) | Savvas (1726) |
| Ioannes Koulikas (1564) | Symeon of Trapezond (1653) |
| Ioannes of Thasos (1652) | Chrestos the Gardener (1748) |
| Ioannes Vlachos (1662) | Chryse (1795), a woman |
| Ioannes of Monemvasia (1773) | Angelis of Crete (1824) |
| Ioannes Chrysochoos (1802) | Timotheos of Thrace (1820) |
| Ioannes of Spetsai (1822) | Antonios the Athenian (1774) |

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Ο ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ ΘΡΟΝΟΥ. By Aristeides Passadeos. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies No. 157, 1976. Pp. 160. 35 illustrations plus 12 folding plans.

Anyone interested in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople will undoubtedly be interested in the physical location and architectural structure of that Patriarchate throughout its 1500-year history. What will immediately strike the investigator is that the sources for a comprehensive study are almost always indirect and the understandable concern for St. Sophia has always overshadowed interest in the buildings of the Patriarchate throughout its history. Difficulties for all chronological periods beset the scholar, despite the natural urge to know where the Archbishop of Constantinople—who is also the Ecumenical Patriarch—was physically situated throughout historical times. The author of *The Patriarchal Palace of the Ecumenical Throne*, who is professor at the Patriarchal Theological School of Halki, has sought to reconstruct for us the Patriarchal buildings and locate them for us on the basis of the available evidence and with the help of current scholarship. The present study is divided into two principal sections: "From the Appearance of Christianity in Byzantium to the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, 195-1453" (pp. 27-80) and "From the Fall to Our Days 1453-1975" (pp. 83-149). A summary in French completes the book (pp. 151-160), while a bibliography (pp. 11-20) and an introduction (pp. 21-23) precede the main body of the work.

In its earliest period the seat of the Patriarchate was located near the Church of St. Irene that we know today. When Constantine decided to build a new cathedral called St. Sophia (360), a common wall enclosed both old and new churches, within whose precinct was also located a Patriarchal palace, according to the Byzantine author Palladios, who wrote a life of John Chrysostom. In 404 a fire ravaged the original St. Sophia, which Palladios describes, and by whom we are told of a descent of St. John Chrysostom from the Episcopal Palace (of at least two floors), probably located to the north of the Church of Saint Sophia or more precisely to the northeast. Briefly, the patriarchal complex was located between the Churches of Saint Sophia and Saint Irene within a common wall. Theodosius II reconstructed the St. Sophia that was destroyed in 404, but it was the famous Emperor Justinian who embarked upon a large scale building program after the Nika riots, the most spectacular result of which was the basilica of the famous St. Sophia. In his study Professor Passadeos follows the research of R. Guiland in "Etudes sur la Constantinople Byzantine: Le Thomaites et le Patriarcat" (*Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 5.1956) and R. Janin, "Le Palais Patriarcat de Constantinople" (*Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 20. 1962). From the available sources we find that the buildings of the Patriarchate, situated south of Saint Sophia, were grouped into two: one containing the so-called 'trik-

linos' Thessalos (SW of the church) and the other the triklinos Thomaites (SE of the church)—both connected by the south gallery of Saint Sophia. The Byzantine sources also mention the 'Synodoi' and the 'Macron' between the patriarchal buildings to the south of the basilica but are probably another name for the Thomaites, which may have contained the huge meeting rooms of the Synod, in the case of the 'Synodoi,' and in the case of 'Macron' another name for a building or a long gallery. Professor Guiland has argued that the Macron was a simple facade of the Thomaites, basing himself on an interpretation of the text of Choniates in connection with insurrection of Caesar John against the Palace. Professor Passadeos points out that Guiland has missed some of the evidence in Choniates who informs us that the Macron extended right up to the narthex of Saint Sophia and as its other end was connected to the Thomaites, the 'long' building extended from east to west connecting the SW group to the SE group of patriarchal buildings. The same Choniates tells us that Caesar John destroyed houses which had been built between Saint Sophia and the Augustaeum, to which they were attached so that the defense of the Macron and the Thomaites would be facilitated. These were not 'ordinary' houses but probably workshops of coppersmiths, silversmiths and the like. Professor Passadeos is able to explain a passage (*Diatikonon*) referred to by a traveler who had crossed through seven gates in going from the column of Justinian to the interior narthex of Saint Sophia and from there to the nave.

In the last analysis, the Patriarchal Palace to the south of Saint Sophia was constituted of three elements: two high and compact buildings corresponding to the east and west ends of the colossal building of the basilica connected by a lower building which is relieved by a gallery. Literary sources confirm the conclusions reached (the sketch of the Florentine Christopher Buondelmonti and the mosaic of the south entrance of the narthex of Saint Sophia also reinforce the author's reconstruction) and the supporting illustrations vividly add to the testimony.

After the Fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204, the Patriarchate was transferred to Nicaea and suffered fifty years of exile. When Constantinople was reconquered by the Byzantines in 1261, the Patriarchate was reinstalled in its ancient buildings, but these remained in a sorry state up to the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453.

With the Fall of Constantinople and the election of Gennadios Scholarios as Patriarch, the Church of the Holy Apostles became the seat of the Patriarch. We know very little about the buildings next to the church but we do know that the Sultan granted the Patriarch permission to move to the convent of Pammakaristos where the Patriarchate remained for 132 years. After the conversion of that church to a mosque in 1587, the Patriarchate was homeless for twelve years until its temporary installation at Vlah-Serail, the residence of the governors of Wallachia when they

came to the capital. Then it was installed at the monastery of Saint Demetrios of Xyloporta on the Golden Horn until 1599 when it was transferred to the Phanar, where it has been located ever since.

Professor Passadeos's review of its present location reveals a much more modest facility with considerably reduced space and size, though Patriarch Timotheos (1612-1620) added to the church, as also did Patriarch Jeremiah III (1716-1726). The author refers the reader to an interesting description of the Patriarchate by Paul the Deacon, who accompanied the Patriarch of Antioch Macarios on his visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1652. This description enables us to reconstruct the Patriarchal buildings of the seventeenth century along certain general lines. Need for renovation was aggravated by a fire in 1738 but no repairs were possible (because they were forbidden by Ottoman authorities) until the end of the eighteenth century. During that 'forbidden' period the Patriarchs were forced to live in rented houses. Finally, in 1797 Gregory V accomplished the necessary restoration and renovations along with some new stone buildings. For this period we have the first-hand account of an Englishman, Professor Dacre Carlyle, who visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1800 (see R. Walpole, *Memories relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, London, 1817). The buildings of Patriarch Gregory V were preserved until 1941, when a fire completely destroyed them.

It was Joachim III who restored and modernized the buildings of Gregory V. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Patriarch Gregory VI (1835-1840) raised the height of the Patriarchal church. Joachim III in the beginning of the current century employed an architectural tradition that had characterized the houses of the nobility of mediaeval Turkey. The 1951 fire deprived the Patriarchate of considerable space in which to carry on its functions, with the result that today it is in drastic need of vital space. The current three buildings to the East and two in the West group hardly suffice.

The Patriarchal Palace of the Ecumenical Throne will be a valuable resource for all those interested in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. It will certainly be a source book for those interested in what we do know and can know about the architectural structure of the Patriarchate's buildings during its long and venerable history with extensive drawings, sketches, pictures, and plans that enhance our comprehension of the problems involved and their possible solution in architectural and topographical terms.

Professor Passadeos's book also serves to remind us of the tortured history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate—from its glorious days during the Byzantine Empire to its restricted functioning under the Ottoman sultans and its constant persecution under the modern Turkish 'democratic' state. Its human suffering is dramatically and unfortunately revealed in the current state of its buildings and topography.

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THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA:
VIEWS ON PROPHETIC INSPIRATION

The point of view of Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428) on prophetic inspiration has been compiled from such information as we have been able to glean from different comments he made in expounding the teachings of the Minor Prophets. His commentary on the Twelve Prophets is the only one of Theodore's writings surviving in the original Greek text, perhaps because it offers almost nothing of Christological import.

Theodore was a voluminous writer and his contribution to Christian thought and literature was substantial. His literary productivity had become proverbial among both his friends and his adversaries. John of Antioch, in his attempt to defend the scholarship of his deceased teacher, wrote that Theodore "decem millia libros adversus haereses conscriptos."¹ To this testimony his avowed opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, long before the stormy events of A.D. 431, added: "scripti sunt a magno Theodoro adversus Arianorum et Eunomianorum haereses viginti forte et adhuc amplius libri, et alia praeter haec evangelica et apostolica scripta interpretatus est."²

Yet, it was as an interpreter of the Bible that Theodore stood supreme among the scholars of his day and after. He wrote commentaries on nearly all the major books of the Bible, including the writings of the four Major Prophets, in which he discussed at length such thorny biblical subjects as canon, revelation, scriptural and prophetic inspiration, prophetic call and ecstasy, and Messianic expectation. The last important theological writer of the Nestorian Syriac Church, Metropolitan Ebedjesus, who died at the beginning of the fourteenth century, remarked: "He (Theodore) expounded and elucidated Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, each one in one volume. And with this he finished his labors on the Old Testament."³

1. Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro Defensione trium capitulorum*, Migne, PL 67:562.

2. *Ibid.*, 589.

3. J. S. Assemani, ed., *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III:32.

From his commentaries on the Major Prophets, however, not even a single fragment survives. This is due primarily to the fact that he was associated with Nestorianism by succeeding generations. This circumstance led to deliberate attempts to destroy his writings as dangerous to the true faith. It was Rabboula, the Orthodox Syriac bishop of Edessa (411-436), who launched the initial attack against both Theodore and his teachings, and in his fervent animosity against the Mopsuestian went so far as to order all existing copies of Theodore's writings confiscated and burned.⁴ The controversy over the heterodoxy of Theodore gained momentum when Cyril of Alexandria, who had previously on numerous occasions spoken favorably of the Mopsuestian's polemical and exegetical work, joined the critics of Theodore.⁵ His remark in a letter to Acacius, Bishop of Melitene in Armenia Secunda, is typical:

Pretending to detest the teachings of Nestorius, they (Antiochians) applaud them in another way, by admiring the teachings of Theodore, although they are tainted with an equal or rather much more grievous impiety. For Theodore was not the disciple of Nestorius, but rather the other way around, and both speak as from one mouth, emitting one and the same poison of heterodoxy from their hearts.⁶

The coup de grâce, however, against all of Theodore's manuscripts was delivered by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod in A.D. 553. This Synod, convened 125 years after Theodore's death, pronounced an anathema against him and condemned his writings *in toto*. Prohibited though they were, parts of Theo-

4. This information comes from a famous document known as the "Letter of Ibas of Edessa" (Mansi, VII:241-249), and it was addressed to Maris of Persia. Ibas followed a mediating position in the Christological controversy between Nestorian and Alexandrian theology, and championed the cause of Theodore. He was deposed by the Latrocinium Synod of Ephesus in 449 due to his doctrinal position, and also because he had included in his letter to Maris language describing in an unfavorable fashion the Nestorian behavior of Cyril of Alexandria at the Council of Ephesus. Later, the Council of Chalcedon reinstated him after he anathematized Nestorius. However, Ibas' letter was condemned a century later by the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553), in the so-called 'Three Chapters' controversy. See also *Patrologia Orientalis* IV:381, where the Nestorian author Berhadbeshaba Arbaya (beginning of the seventh century) makes similar statements regarding the destruction of Theodore's works, begun by Rabboula of Edessa.

5. The Nestorian Metropolitan Ebedjesus informs us that Theodore dedicated his *Commentary on the Book of Job* to Cyril of Alexandria (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III:34).

6. *Ad Acacium*, Migne, PG 77:340 AB.

dore's works were quoted verbatim, even though anonymously, in biblical commentaries. Some of his commentaries on New Testament books have been translated into Latin, again anonymously.⁷

In later years, however, the Mopsuestian was known among the Syriac-speaking Nestorian scholars, who venerated his name and placed high value on his scholarship, as the Mephasqana, i.e., the interpreter *par excellence*. In their theological school at Nisibis his authority on biblical subjects was so great that no Nestorian teacher could contradict Theodore's views on the Bible.⁸

Prophetic Call

Prophecy, according to Theodore, was not an art or an institutionalized profession which could be learned or practiced as a result of a man's decision or determination. Neither was it a hereditary office which could be received from one's father.⁹ Prophecy was independent of any particular state of life because it was an action or initiative of God communicated to man without the medium of a sacrament or ecclesiastical channel. And he who had been the object of that divine initiative could only point to a call that had originated in the will of God. It was the irresistible command of the deity which forcibly took Amos from his daily life as a herdsman and pruner of sycamore fig-trees and caused him to prophesy the will of God concerning the people of Israel (Amos 7.14). The ministry of prophecy came to those who were directly called by the immediate manifestation of God's grace.¹⁰ The prophets were raised and sent forth by a divine force emanating directly from the free will of God. The original call was independent of the will of man. This feeling of conviction is confirmed by the content of the prophetic oracles.

From the moment of their call these inspired men were prophets; this does not necessarily mean, however, that they

7. M. V. Anastos, "The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951), 133-34.

8. See the article by J. M. Vosté, "L'Oeuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste au II^e Concile de Constantinople," *Revue Biblique* 38 (1929), 392-95.

9. Migne, PG 66:292B.

10. *Ibid.*, 597B; 244A.

were continuously under the direct influence of the prophetic charisma. The prophets experienced this charisma only at certain times—whenever they felt in their innermost being the energies of the living God.¹¹ The prophets were the spokesmen and heralds of God because they made known the purpose of God and events of the future. In commenting upon Amos 3.7, Theodore made the following statement: “Accordingly the prophets do not utter their voice without reason, because they say as much as God has given them to tell. God wants the things which He intends to bring out for our own instruction, as well as the events which will take place in the future, to be made known to us by the prophets.”¹²

It is interesting to note that Theodore referred to the seers or clairvoyants of the Old Testament as the spiritual forerunners of the great classical prophets. He even alludes to the fact that the earlier visionaries of Israel did not enjoy a high reputation among the people. They prophesied because of certain gifts of temper and natural disposition. Among such enthusiasts, the truly inspired prophet Amos should not be reckoned. In his commentary on Amos 7.10-17, Theodore remarked the following:

Amaziah (the high priest), in his impertinent mood said to Amos: ‘O thou seer, go, flee thou away into the land of Judah . . .’ Amaziah used the term seer sarcastically because the people beforetime called the prophets by that name, for the seers claimed to see some extraordinary sights through divine energy and revelation. The Book of Kings (I Samuel 9:9) says: ‘For he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer.’ Amaziah, the high priest, said seer to provoke antagonism; he should have said instead: O thou, who art pronouncing and proclaiming by authority (PG 66:289D).

Theodore held that it was only in Israel that God raised up truly inspired prophets. The will of God for all humanity was historically carried out by Israel through means of election and setting apart. He called Abraham and instituted circumcision in order to distinguish Abraham’s descendants from the rest of the nations. And then God revealed His Law to Moses and

11. *Ibid.*, 125D-128A.

12. *Ibid.*, 261C.

provided a country for Israel. All these privileges for Israel came from God alone; there was no human merit involved.¹³ Yet, all these providential blessings granted to Israel of old came for the sake of man because they were subordinate to the ultimate purpose of God in history: the salvation of all men. The Old Testament looks forward; it is oriented towards the future because it is the history of a redeeming drama, which arrives at its terminus with the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ. But universal salvation through the Christ could not appear as a novelty or innovation, decided by God at a certain stage in history, almost as an afterthought. God, in order to avoid that impression on the part of men, raised the prophets.¹⁴

God persistently addressed Himself to men through the prophets, because they were the obedient servants *par excellence* of the Spirit. David was the first in the line of the great prophets, with whom a new era in the history of Israel's religion began. Then came the prophets whose preaching was purely oral. And after that God from time to time raised the author prophets.¹⁵

Every prophet was called upon to minister in a particular historical situation, and his message in its primary significance had to do with contemporary circumstances and the immediate future. Prophets applied their message to a certain and specific stage of Israel's drama in history; they never left their own age and their peculiar religious interest. They addressed themselves to the people of their own generation. In so defining the legitimate spheres of prophetic activity, Theodore represented a remarkable point of contact with contemporary conceptions of prophecy. The Mopsuestian showed only a very nominal interest in theories about prophecy as long-range prediction. He taught, in most emphatic terms, that the prophets of Israel seemed to proclaim oracles whose resolution appeared to be near at hand. However, it must be conceded that Theodore, as a man of his own age, could not escape entirely from the traditional view of prophecy as prediction. It was only occasionally, the Mopsuestian asserts, that the prophets referred to distant or remote events. Such predictions, however, resulted

13. Ibid., 241A.

14. Ibid., 241B.

15. Ibid., 128B; 289D.

from a certain historical context: "Each prophet seems to be proclaiming oracles, the issue of which looked to be nigh at hand; they joined together some oracles which referred to the future, for they were led to this from a certain context" (PG 66:212B).

Prophetic Inspiration

Prophetic inspiration can best be explained as the prophet's day-to-day communication with God. This divine disclosure was an audition in the inner soul of the prophet. The Spirit was at work in the soul of the individual. The result was that the prophet became full of power and strength. Yet, the manifestation of this spiritual power was diversified, because the energies emanating directly from God took different forms:

The energy of God is called by the prophet 'the word of the Lord,' because by this energy the prophets received revelation of things to come, through a spiritual grace. This sacred revelation is also called a 'vision' by the prophet, because through this the prophets received knowledge of obscure things. Since the prophets were accepting in the depth of their own souls unspoken conceptions and images through a spiritual energy, and since they perceived the instruction of what they learned as if it were someone speaking to them—during the energizing activity of the divine spirit in their own inner soul—for these reasons the prophet calls it both 'vision' and 'word of the Lord' (PG 66:308CD).

This passage confirms beyond any doubt that Theodore did not regard prophetic inspiration as a body of propositional truths dictated mechanically, through the direct breathing of the Spirit, into the prophet's mind. Rather, he saw it as a psychological experience, that is, as thoughts and visions awakened by the Spirit of God in the inward being of a prophet, through the medium of a 'spiritual grace.' Inspiration is the result of an overwhelming emotional and intellectual excitement, which each of the prophets experienced in a particular confrontation with the divine. And in objectifying this excitement, the charismatic person expressed, in his own idiom, the 'unspoken thoughts and images' of the Spirit. God revealed His will in the soul of the prophet as an inner experience. This inward experience be-

came equivalent with the 'word of the Lord' because it articulated the will of God. Whatever the prophet received to be a divine self-disclosure had an articulate meaning, sometimes called 'word' and at other times called 'vision.' The 'spiritual grace' or 'divine motivation' was not imposed on the human faculty as an audible communication. It was not expressed, so to speak, in Hebrew or Aramaic; yet, the prophetic inspiration was always articulated and transmitted in the idiom of human speech. Since the inspiration was taking place in the inner soul of a personality, the mental forces of the human organism were there to heed and to understand. Thus the idiom of the prophet became the vehicle of inspiration.

The consciousness of inspiration lay in the prophet's conviction that God was speaking to him and through him. The prophet believed in the reality of what he saw and received. The prophecies were not human ideas, but the message of God. The divine-human encounter was real. What the prophet felt compelled to reproduce from that encounter, or confrontation, through the prophetic idiom, was not a corporeal divine voice, or plainly God's own voice, but a psychological experience which created in the mind of the prophet the impression that someone was speaking to him. The Mopsuestian on this particularly important subject has made the following observation: "If God had spoken to the prophet from above in a human voice, it could have filled all the inhabited world" (PG 66: 509A). The prophets met with the deity at a particular time and place in history. This confrontation placed the prophetic consciousness under great intensity without the divine sweeping away the human; on the contrary, the presence of the divine raised the prophetic mind to a new level of spiritual exaltation and awareness (PG 66:401CD).

Prophetic Ecstasy

We must turn now from this account of Theodore's understanding of prophetic inspiration to his notion of prophetic ecstasy. Of course, the Bishop of Mopsuestia did not treat the subject in terms of a nineteenth-century empirical interpretation. The varieties of physiological and psychological behaviors which accompanied the ecstatic state were altogether ignored by Theodore. In point of fact, these symptoms were considered

by some ecclesiastical writers of the patristic age to be important characteristics of the prophetic charisma, and hence, were to be expected in diverse forms and measures even when they were not reported. Theodore's understanding of the phenomenon is, however, a conservative interpretation of it. He most certainly was aware that the professional prognosticators (*mantes*) at the pagan temples also experienced abnormal symptoms when they were placed by their assistants in the lethargic state of ecstasy.

In commenting upon the word *λήμμα* (LXX.Nah.1),¹⁶ which in the Septuagint is used to render the original Hebrew *mašā'*, Theodore finds the opportunity to discuss the various biblical terms employed by the Old Testament prophets in describing the content of their experiences. He then goes on to state that prophetic experiences were manifold in origin—they might take the form of a vision, or an oracle, or a burden, or a sight, or finally, an ecstasy. But the highest type of spiritual experience was achieved by ecstasy:

The inborn energies by which the prophets received revelations from the Spirit were diversified, differing according to the circumstances. By ecstasy, all of the prophets received the knowledge of the most unutterable things; for it (ecstasy) permitted them, by keeping their mind out of earthly conditions, to hold fast and attach themselves to the view which was shown to them. If it is impossible for us to learn with accuracy the instruction of our teachers without concentrating on their teaching, how could it ever be possible for the prophets to endure such terrifying and unutterable views if their intellect did not go out of the present conditions of life during the time of the viewing?

The Scripture says that the blessed Peter (Acts 10.10), while falling in ecstasy, saw a great sheet descending from heaven. This was made possible because the grace of the Spirit took his mind away from the present situation and helped him to view what was to be shown. The grace of the divine Spirit,

16. The term is derived from the perfect tense (*εἰλημμαι*) of the verb *λαμβάνω* (=to obtain possession); the word *λήμμα* in classical Greek literature has a variety of meanings (anything received, income, gain, receipt, and argument). It is also used as a term of Logic by Aristotle, and in that context it means 'assumption,' i.e., the major premise of a syllogism. But in the Septuagint its meaning is altogether different, as it becomes synonymous with the prophetic oracle.

by removing the mind of the prophets to a different state, enabled them to view the indicated vision. But whenever the prophets found themselves in this state of mind, the grace of the Spirit granted them such an instruction that it created the impression that they were hearing someone speaking and teaching them. For this reason Isaiah (53.1) the prophet says: 'O Lord, who has believed our hearing?' He calls the revelation 'hearing' because it seemed to him that he was listening to someone speaking (PG 66:401-402).

In the above passage prophetic ecstasy was understood by Theodore to be a state of tension and concentration by which the human mind was taken out of earthly cares and needs. The prophet temporarily subdued his own secular existence. The stimulation of the human spirit, resulting from a recognized divine presence, unified the whole interior self of the prophet. This concentration enabled the mind of the prophet to absorb the supernormal power. In this intensity of the spirit, no physical abnormality was involved. On the contrary, the revelation issuing from the ecstatic rapture was the highest God-sent message. During the ecstatic state, meaningful pronouncements were forthcoming, without the prophet being asked any specific questions by onlookers. The experience was terrifying and unutterable, because it resulted from the absolute certainty that the prophet truly stood in personal relationship with God. When the awesome experiences receded somehow into the background, the articulated prophetic idiom burst forth, proclaiming the will of the Almighty Yahweh.

According to Theodore, the phenomenon of ecstatic rapture can be found in both Testaments. Ecstasy is just one channel, among many others also described in the Bible, through which God spoke to prophets and apostles alike.

The prophet fell into the ecstatic state whenever the Spirit of God put him in isolation and solitude. The Spirit drove him into solitude by subduing his senses and by isolating him from the rest of the world. His intellect was also held in check; further, no physical activity was allowed during the phenomenon. His mind was caused to "go out of the present conditions of life." In this case, prophetic ecstasy was strictly personal; God's Spirit alone led the prophets during their ministry to this mystical experience. Theodore believes, as practically all modern

liberal scholars do, that the ecstatic element is an integral part of Old Testament prophecy, and that it can be found in all the prophets, including certainly the classical ones: "By ecstasy, all of the prophets received the knowledge of the most unutterable things."

Finally, we should note that Theodore has been accused of having an anthropomorphic understanding of biblical inspiration.¹⁷ The charge has arisen from Theodore's position that the prophets during their times of inspiration had the impression that someone was speaking to them:

Blessed Isaiah said he saw God and the Seraphim, he also heard voices coming towards him. For this reason, he sometimes says, 'the word of God' which was upon him, and by word he means the energy by which he had the impression that he was learning by a voice what was necessary; and other times he says 'vision,' which he saw here and there, meaning by this the revelation, according to which, believing to see something, he was taught the proper [message] (PG 66:404B).

The prophetic data relating to inspiration are both complex and many-faceted, and a precise determination of the nature of such events is practically beyond our understanding. In point of fact, prophetic inspiration is both a miracle and a mystery. Despite this, I should reiterate that the pages of prophetic literature are filled with anthropomorphic expressions and experiences. God, in His covenantal relationship with the people of Israel, is represented as having 'spoken' to them in many and various ways, by the prophets (Heb. 1.1). No matter how refined it may be in the prophetic idiom, anthropomorphism is firmly rooted in the prophetic idiosyncrasy: "The Lord God has spoken, who can but prophesy?"¹⁸ The prophets testified to what they saw and heard. It was in Yahweh's council that the divine-human encounter took place; the certainty of having stood in the presence of the Almighty is expressed with absolute conviction. The typical prophetic

17. J. S. Romanides, "Highlights in the Debate over Theodore of Mopsuestia's Christology," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 5.2 (1959-1960), 179.

18. Amos 3.8.

oracle begins with 'the Lord said unto me' Jeremiah did not consider a man to be a truly inspired prophet unless he spoke 'from God's mouth' rather than from 'his own heart.' The hearing of the 'word of God' was the secret of the prophet's power and self-legitimation. It is perhaps most fitting to close with the words of Georges Florovsky regarding biblical anthropomorphism: "The Scriptures transmit and preserve the Word of God precisely in the idiom of men. God spoke to man indeed, but there was man to attend and perceive. 'Anthropomorphism' is thus inherent in the very fact."¹⁹

19. *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), p. 27.

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REVIEWS

Theodoros Prodromos Historische Gedichte. By Wolfram Hörandner. Wien: Wiener Byzantinistische Studien Band XI, 1974. Pp. 604.

Theodore Prodromos, surnamed Ptochoprodromos, was a twelfth-century polymath who distinguished himself as poet, novelist, orator, epistolographer, satirist, theologian, and laic philosopher. A great many of his writings are valuable for their intrinsic worth as medieval philological products and as sources for twelfth-century Byzantium. Philologists, philosophers, theologians, and social historians will find much of value in Prodromos' works. Some of his writings provide important information for prosopography and for events and conditions concerning the life of the lower social classes in the Empire's capital.

While Prodromos followed the best examples of classical authors, Lucian in particular, his real significance lies in the fact that he wrote in the spoken Greek—the demotic of the twelfth century. To be sure, as a literary figure he has been controversial, but few, if any, modern students of Byzantium would doubt the historical significance of Prodromos' writings. Several scholars have dealt with him, and because of his many literary works some have concluded that there were two writers by the same name. G. Moravcsik has devoted four full pages in his survey of the bibliography on the problem of Prodromos and the manuscript tradition of his works (*Byzantinoturcica*, vol. i, pp. 522-26).

As far as his importance for theology and the Church is concerned, Theodore has merit because he wrote on hagiography, religious epigram, hymnography, dogmatics, apologetics (or polemics?), and monasticism. Furthermore, he is especially interesting for the study of popular culture.

The present volume is indeed a monumental philological and historical study which will remain standard for many years to come. Originally it was presented as a doctoral thesis to the University of Vienna in 1966, and this is an improved version of that dissertation. It is a first-rate book of great value to scholars and students of the Byzantine mind and ethos.

As the subtitle indicates, the book examines the poetry of Theodore Prodromos which mostly bears on history. There is much prosopographical material concerning Emperors such as Alexios Komnenos and especially John II Komnenos, Empresses (Irene), Patriarchs (Theodotos), Logothetes (Stephanos Meles), monks (Ioannikios and Athanasios the Hesychastes), public servants (Alexios Aristenos the Orphanotrophos), military men (Alexios Kontostephanos), and other persons. In his desire to secure imperial patronage, Prodromos frequently resorted to flattery and encomiastic hyperbole, sometimes for worthy and occasionally for less worthy individuals. Nevertheless his poems are mirrors and reflections for the study of the mind of twelfth-century Byzantium. A great deal of Prodromos' work reveals an interest in the Greek classical tradition. In addition to the

Holy Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments which he cites profusely, he frequently quotes classical authors such as Homer, many of the Greek Fathers, as well as from the literature of the Byzantine era.

The book is divided into six substantial chapters. Following a comprehensive account of Prodromos' turbulent life, Dr. Hörandner devotes a chapter discussing his writings. A very illuminating chapter deals with the function and form of Prodromos' historical poetry: a discussion of the type and style of his language, meter (usually hexameter and pentameter), and an account of the manuscript tradition conclude the first part of the volume. The larger part of the tome presents a critical edition of eighty poems accompanied by a comprehensive commentary.

The book ends with an extensive bibliography and four valuable indices, a map relevant to the geographic area, provinces, and cities mentioned in the poems, and a genealogical tree of the Comneni family which had patronized Prodromos. Dr. Horandner has made full use of primary sources and contemporary literature and has brought together so much material that this tome is a mine of valuable information. We are grateful to the author for a work extremely well done.

Demetrios J. Constantelos
Stockton State College

Emotional Problems and the Gospel. By Vernon Grounds. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976. Pp. 111. \$2.95.

Emotional Problems and the Gospel is the kind of religion book one could expect to easily find at the corner bookstore. The title is inviting, bringing the reader to anticipate not simply a book about human coping but moreso a book which relates the daily struggle with the resources of Scripture.

Vernon Grounds has set out here to show how the Gospel provides "person help and healing which cannot be found anywhere else." To accomplish this, he divides his subject into thirteen chapters, focusing upon anxiety, anger, pride, guilt, and concluding with "A Christian Perspective on Mental Health."

On the basis of such solid first impressions, one would look forward to experiencing important hours of reflection and growth through this reading. It is not too long, however, before the reader has to come to grips with his feelings of disappointment.

It seems that Dr. Grounds is more preoccupied with waging a battle against psychology than addressing squarely the psychological and/or

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THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGIANS

The Orthodox Theological Society in America sponsored the Third International Conference of Orthodox Theologians from 28 - 31 August 1978, on ~~the campus~~ of the Hellenic College - Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts. The theme of the Conference was "Theological Reflections on the Forthcoming Holy and Great Council."

Beginning on Monday, August 28, at 3:00 P.M. at the Maliotis Cultural Center, the invocation was offered by Bishop Maximos Aghiorgoussis of Diokleia, the official representative of Archbishop Iakovos who was unable to attend. Dr. Thomas Lelon, President of Hellenic College, offered words of welcome. The President of the Society, Rev. Dr. George Papademetriou, read a telegram from the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios blessing the participants and the work of the conference. In a brief introduction, Father Papademetriou spoke on the importance for the convocation of the forthcoming Great and Holy Council.

Then, he introduced the keynote speaker, the Most Reverend Damaskinos, Metropolitan of Tranoupolis and the Head of the Secretariat for the preparation of the Holy and Great Council, and Director of the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambesy, Switzerland. Metropolitan Damaskinos analyzed the history of the development and preparation of the Council. Following his address, a lively discussion took place, during which many of the conferees eagerly asked questions concerning the Council.

Great Vesper Service followed the session in Holy Cross' beautiful Byzantine chapel where all the participants united in prayer. Later, following dinner, the conferees reconvened at the Maliotis Center for the second session. Metropolitan Ignatios of Latakia, Syria, who was to address the Conference, could not come from Lebanon due to the troublesome conditions existing in the Middle East. Professor James Counelis, from the University of San Francisco School of Education, spoke on "Contemporary Episcopacy, Formative Theology and the Forthcoming

Great and Holy Council.” He pointed out the importance of the means of communicating the message of Christ in the contemporary world, and emphasized the sacralization of modern categories to communicate the message of Orthodoxy to the present day society.

During the discussion which followed, several of the participants directed their comments to the paper by Metropolitan Damaskinos presented that afternoon. There were several remarks about the unity of today’s world Orthodoxy. At this point, His Eminence Metropolitan Damaskinos bluntly stated that “the greatest heresy of contemporary Orthodoxy is its disunity.” This was echoed as a concern by all the Orthodox theologians who were present and all voiced a concern to normalize the situation. Asked when this “Holy and Great Council” will take place, Metropolitan Damaskinos emphatically answered “within five years.”

On Tuesday, August 29, the Divine Liturgy was offered by Bishop Maximos, assisted by Fr. Papademetriou, Fr. Ilia Katre, Fr. James Jorgenson, Fr. Paul Tarazi, and Deacons Methodios and Michael. Following breakfast, the third session convened, where Bishop Pierre L’Hullier of Chersonese, under the Patriarchate of Moscow residing in Paris, France, spoke on “Autocephaly as an Ecclesiastical Structure.” He analyzed the historical and canonical issues in reference to autocephaly, and defined the term autocephaly in the following manner: “Autocephaly consists precisely and uniquely in the fact that all the bishops of a territory are elected and consecrated by the episcopal college of the territory and that the primate—*primae sedis episcopus*—according to official canon terminology does not need to receive his investiture from any other head. The functioning of such a system in the church predates the appearance of the word ‘autocephaly.’ It is, on the other hand, emanating from ecclesiastical experience based on tradition which was later ratified in written law to express the existing reality.” This was a common universal system applied at least until the ninth century even in the West.

In the middle ages the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Byzantine Emperor played important roles in the establishment of autocephaly of a particular church within or without the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire.

Bishop L'Hullier discussed the sixteenth century autocephaly of the Church of Russia. The Fall of Constantinople forced the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate as a means of peaceful relations between the two churches.

In the nineteenth century with the rise of nationalism, new problems arose for Orthodoxy. The formation of the new autocephalies were organized along the line of the sovereignty of the state. This concept now is declining with the rise of secularism which regards religion as a private matter and not the business of the state.

Bishop L'Hullier's conclusion was that the mother church grants autocephaly after the fact, that is, a recognition of an independent church, *a posteriori*. He suggested study of past models and that the forthcoming Council clarify the issues and the procedures for establishing autocephaly agreed to by the consensus of the Orthodox churches.

In his response, Dr. John Boojamra was favorable to the paper, and offered several observations concerning the historical and canonical status of autocephaly. Boojamra agreed with Bishop Pierre that the process for autocephaly is ambiguous and pointed out, as is evident, the exchange in 1970 of letters between Moscow and Constantinople in reference to the 'Metropolia.' His hope was to elucidate on the problem of the American Orthodox canonical chaos and find appropriate solutions in accordance with the ecclesiastical norms. Following the two presentations, a lively discussion took place where several people spoke in favor of a solution to the problem of disunity among the Orthodox jurisdictions, especially those on the American continent.

The members of the Conference assembled once again after lunch for the fourth session, where speaker for this session was Bishop Maximos Aghiorgoussis, Professor of Systematic Theology at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary. Bishop Maximos spoke on "A Theological *Apologia* for the Forthcoming Great and Holy Council." His defense for the convocation of the Council was a presentation of and answers to the arguments of Father Justin Popovich from Yugoslavia. (Fr. Justin had submitted a memorandum to the Holy Synod of the Serbian Church in which he argued against the advisability of holding a Great Council at this time. He believes that most of the Ortho-

dox churches are not truly free and that the participants at the Council would not speak as free agents of the Holy Spirit.) Bishop Maximos stated: "Of course, political factors have always interfered with church affairs. This was true even in the time of the Holy Byzantine Empire, and of the Holy Russian Empire. In spite of this, the Church has managed not only to survive, but to thrive even through persecution."

Responses were given by Archimandrite Seraphim Surrency and Professor Constantine Cavarinos. Agreeing with the presentation of Bishop Maximos, Fr. Surrency, in support of the convocation of the Council and in opposition to Father Popovich, insisted that: "All Orthodox are conservative in the best sense of that word—they wish to conserve and preserve what has been handed down to them in Holy Tradition. But Holy Tradition is not something static and lifeless, on the contrary, it is something alive and creative."

The second response by Dr. Constantine Cavarinos took a philosophical coloring. He strongly suggested, as a start, that using the word "Synod" instead of "Council" will avoid the confusion about the character of the forthcoming 'Synod.' Dr. Cavarinos referred to several Orthodox theologians who oppose the convocation of the Council besides Fr. Popovich, such as Theokletos Dionysiates of Mount Athos and the late Professor Panagiotes Trembelas. In essence, Professor Cavarinos agreed with Bishop Maximos, in that he hoped that the 'Holy and Great Synod' will be realized; however, he cautioned those responsible for the preparations of the Council not to be hasty. In the technological realm, things can be done "fast" and "get quick results," but "divine grace cannot be acquired by pressing some button or performing some other mechanical operation." Grace and illumination are acquired with long and spiritual discipline as evidenced in the lives of the Holy Fathers.

The Conferees reacted favorably to the presentations as one could see from the discussions that took place and the statements made by several members of the assembly.

On Wednesday, August 30, the day began with Matins in the Holy Cross Chapel, and following breakfast, the fifth session began at 10:00 A.M. The speaker was Rev. Dr. Demetrios Constantelos, professor at Stockton State College in New Jersey, on the topic, "The Orthodox Diaspora: Canonical and

Ecclesiological Perspective.” Fr. Constantelos stated the historical and theological implications and problems of the ‘diaspora.’ He saw three options to be adopted by the Great and Holy Council to normalize the canonical chaos of the Orthodox diaspora. The first option is to ignore the situation; leave it dormant as it has been over seventy-five years as a human condition. The second option is to create an autocephalous or independent Orthodox Church in each country or continent under a multi-ethnic Synod headed by a ruling bishop. The third option is to establish a loose confederation under the authority of a Patriarchate, perhaps the Ecumenical Patriarchate for historical reasons. Fr. Demetrios saw the last as the most practical option at this time for the Church in America.

He invoked the canons of the Church, history as well as modern sociology and psychology, to justify that the third option is the most desirable and most practical solution at this time. He recommended three steps that the Great Council should take: 1) Establish a central committee to oversee the transition of the diaspora into a confederation of churches, 2) Each jurisdiction will continue to govern its own affairs under a Pan-Orthodox Synod elected by the Ecumenical Patriarchate from a list submitted from individual jurisdictions. 3) Every jurisdiction will organize a task force to prepare the parishes, both clergy and faithful, to attain closer cooperation and ultimate confederation of all the Orthodox.

In the first response, given by Fr. Benedict de Socio, the total problem of the American Orthodox diaspora is solved by the establishment of the Orthodox Church in America. The second respondent, Dr. Daniel Sahas, professor of History of Religion at the University of Waterloo, in Ontario, Canada, took a theological approach to the term ‘synod’ from the word ‘*synodos—synodoiporia*’—that is, walking together and implies the Church. Concerning the diaspora, he stated that the Council “cannot deal with the diaspora in its ‘*absentia*,’ and that this should be dealt with as an ecclesiological and not a jurisdictional matter.”

These presentations evoked strong and lively discussions. The objections to Fr. de Socio’s reasoning were as follows: if each jurisdiction proclaims itself as autocephalous—as did the OCA—then we will have several autocephalous churches in America

with each of the ruling hierarchs addressed as "Beatitude" and the problem will remain the same; that is, the Orthodox jurisdictions will continue to live in isolation and disunity. The reaction was more favorable to Fr. Constantelos' solution of a united Orthodox Church loosely confederated. The discussion was so heated—but friendly, with grave concern for solutions—that it went on and on until there was a break for lunch.

Following lunch, the Very Reverend John Meyendorff, professor of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary, addressed the third session on "The Ecumenical Patriarchate in Orthodox Ecclesiology." He discussed the ministry of the apostles and the bishops of key cities to place the problem in perspective, and pointed out, "that neither St. Mark, nor St. Andrew had anything to do with their awareness of being leaders among their fellow bishops." This statement was made in reference to the establishment of the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Constantinople. Fr. Meyendorff defined the ecclesiological framework of "the Primacy of Constantinople in the Orthodox Church" as having been shaped by political reasons of a Byzantine *Ecumene* and this remains, "even today, a necessity for the universal witness of Orthodoxy."

Father John stated his concern for the Ecumenical Patriarchate and for the prevention of it "from being simply strangled by the Turks in a dirty ghetto of Istanbul." His conclusions were: 1) The Church must manifest its unity and catholicity through 'one bishop,' the 'first bishop' to "represent the conciliarity of the Church." The local and regional unity of Orthodoxy will be secured by constant consultation and conciliarity between 'first bishop' and all the Orthodox Churches. 2) The prestige of the Ecumenical Patriarchate does not depend on rights defined in Byzantine terms since Byzantium does not exist anymore. 3) Fr. Meyendorff suggested that, "a permanent representation of all Orthodox Churches in a consultative body around the Patriarch and, in general, an international staff" be formed.

To assure normal function of the Patriarchate in addition to the above, he suggested that the Patriarchate move from the "glorious historical setting of Constantinople" to another location for "its very survival as an institution is more important than those historical considerations." He suggested that to

succeed the Patriarchate must adopt, "the frank and fearless continuation of the conciliar initiative . . . must become much wider, much more open and involve a greater number of competent participants . . ." This "could revive the dormant potential of contemporary Orthodoxy, . . . and make the Church ready to face the challenges of the day."

Fr. Nomikos Michael Vaporis, Dean and Professor of Hellenic College, offered his response. He agreed in general with Father Meyendorff's discussion of Orthodox ecclesiology and the question of primacy, but disagreed with many of the conclusions or inferences drawn by Father John. Father Vaporis suggested that when a mother is unable to offer as much as one would like, one does not make plans to abandon and replace her. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has many limitations imposed upon it by the Turks and needs not our contempt but our concern and love. Furthermore, he stated that the Patriarchate functions today as a spiritual center for world Orthodoxy very effectively in spite of the restrictions imposed on it by the Turks.

The presentation by Father Meyendorff caused vibrant discussion among all conferees. However, no one denied that the Ecumenical Patriarchate is a true witness to Orthodox universal unity today. Even those who felt it should move from Constantinople felt it should move within the territory (*klema*) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and remain a visible, universal force of Orthodox unity.

When the session ended, a Vesper Service was offered in the Holy Cross Chapel. That evening, a Tenth Anniversary Banquet was held at the 57 Restaurant, where Archbishop Philip of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese and Vice-President of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops of the Americas was the main speaker. He stated that he would rather see important present day social issues discussed in the Council than far removed topics such as the *diptychs*. Metropolitan Damaskinos, Metropolitan Theodosios, and Bishop Pierre L'Hullier offered remarks, while Mr. James Couchell served as Master of Ceremonies. Father George C. Papdemetriou presented on behalf of the Orthodox Theological Society in America a plaque to the past presidents: Fr. Alexander Schmemmann, Fr. Demetrios Constantelos, Fr. John Meyendorff, Fr. N. Michael Vaporis, Dr. Robert Haddad, and Fr. Thomas Hopko in

absentia. The banquet was attended by about one hundred and twenty-five persons.

On Thursday, August 31, the day began with Matins at the Chapel of the Holy Cross. Following breakfast, Fr. Stanley Harakas, Dean and Professor of Holy Cross Orthodox Seminary in Brookline, spoke on the "Reflections on the Ethical Dimensions of the Topics of the Great and Holy Synod." He divided his presentation into two sections: "Sources for Orthodox Christian Life" and "Orthodox Eucharistic Exclusivity."

Fr. Harakas analyzed the sources for the Orthodox Christian life and the communal unity manifested in the eucharistic life of the believers. He was critical of the Valamo (Finland) statement and specifically the following sentence: "The dynamics of the concept of 'liturgy after liturgy' is to be found in the several programmes and activities of the WCC . . . !" He insisted that, "What it should have said was the dynamics of the 'liturgy after the Liturgy' are to be found in the deep involvement of the Orthodox Church in the suffering of mankind, in the struggle for world peace, in its contributions to the eradication of all forms of injustice, and so on." Critical of some Orthodox theologians who emphasize "eucharistic exclusivity," Fr. Harakas would prefer to see the true expression of Orthodoxy "as a multifaceted jewel" and that "each of the facets . . . refracts the lights of the others." Then he proceeded to discuss the ethical dimension of all ten topics on the agenda for the forthcoming Great and Holy Council.

The response to Fr. Harakas' paper was given by Dr. Robert M. Haddad, professor at Smith College, who praised Fr. Stanley's paper. However, he thought the criticism of the Valamo statement was too severe. Then he gave his own interpretation of the Valamo statement, "as simply emphasizing the essential reality of the Church as a sacramental society." Concerning the other discussion of Father Harakas' paper on the relations of various Orthodox jurisdictions, Haddad would like to have seen a united Orthodox sharing in the effective solution of the practical problems to fulfill its mission as Church.

At the eighth session, which was the final one, Fr. Alexander Schmemmann, Dean and Professor at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary, spoke on "The Theological Foundations of Church Councils and Conciliarity." Fr. Schmemmann's emphasis was on the 'Holy.' The object of the Church and, for that matter, the Council, is to be 'holy,' an event which is transcendent, not

simply "of this world." In his presentation, Fr. Schmemmann observed that Orthodoxy faced difficulties, opposition, and threat of extinction, but Orthodox Christianity endured and "we are still here." This event of the 'Holy' Council will produce 'joy.' Perhaps our mission is to prepare for the Council and "maybe others will fulfill it." We must try to break down the idols of "envy, fear and pride" which result in Orthodox disunity and obstruct the fulfillment of the true mission of Orthodoxy.

Fr. Theodore Stylianopoulos, Professor of New Testament at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Seminary and Fr. Paul Tarazi, Professor of New Testament at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary, were the respondents. They praised the paper presented by Fr. Schmemmann pointing out that the importance of the Council is to speak on real issues that involve the Christian believer of today.

The Conference concluded with a Scripture reading by Fr. Papademetriou and a prayer and blessing by Bishop Maximos.

The Conference was successful in attracting a number of women and the following hierarchs: Metropolitan Damaskinos of Tranoupolis, Ecumenical Patriarchate; Metropolitan Theodosios, OCA; Metropolitan Philip, Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese; Bishop Mark, Albanian Orthodox Diocese; Bishop Gerasimos, Greek Archdiocese; Bishop Maximos, Greek Archdiocese; Bishop Pierre L'Hullier, Paris, France; Archbishop Kiprian, Rector, St. Tikhon's Orthodox Seminary; and Bishop Christopher, Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Pittsburgh.

The Conference papers will appear in a forthcoming number of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

In summary, it can be said that the Conference was indeed a major contribution toward a better understanding of the preparations of the forthcoming Great and Holy Council and gave it wider publicity in the American continent.

One of the main concerns of the Conference was the unity of Orthodoxy in America. The participants unanimously expressed their hope for a united Orthodoxy in the new world in some form or another. All, regardless of jurisdiction, felt their hearts united in the fellowship of the Holy Orthodox Church. God was glorified for giving the OTSA the opportunity to sponsor the Conference and to articulate the concerns for the future of Orthodoxy in America and in the world.

George C. Papademetriou

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THE VALAMO CONSULTATION

From September 24-30, 1977, a Consultation of Orthodox Theologians took place at the New Valamo Monastery in Finland. Moderator of the "Orthodox Task Force" was the Rev. Protopresbyter George Tsetsis and the Consultation was facilitated and convened under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. Chairman of the Consultation was His Eminence Metropolitan John of Helsinki who represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Finland. The Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented also by Metropolitan Emilianos of Calabria. Metropolitan Parthenios of Carthage represented the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Rev. Stephanos Avramides and Prof. Christos Yannaras came from Greece, the Rev. Ion Bria from Rumania, Prof. John Zizioulas from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Prof. George S. Bebis from the U.S.A. as Consultant for the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Prof. N. Zabolotsky and Prof. Osipov from the Patriarchate of Moscow. Bishop Gregorios from Cairo, Egypt represented the Coptic Church of Egypt, and Metropolitan Stefanos Mar Theodosios represented the Church of Malabar of India. It was a unique opportunity for Orthodox theologians to discuss in an atmosphere of love and common Orthodox objectives, the common understanding of the nature of the Church in her local and catholic dimensions as well as her ecumenical responsibilities in witnessing her faith in the contemporary world.

Metropolitan John of Helsinki spoke on the theme "The Ecumenical Nature of the Orthodox Witness"; the Very Rev. John Meyendorff, Professor of Church History at St. Vladimir's Seminary, spoke on the theme "The Local Church, Conciliarity, and Orthodox Ecclesiology"; Prof. Yannaras spoke on the theme "Proclamation and Articulation of Faith," and Prof. N. Zabolotsky spoke on the theme "The Churches' Responsibility in the World Today."

Two working groups prepared the preliminary drafts of the final statement which was discussed and approved by all the members of the Consultation at the Plenary Session of 30 September 1977. Although it was natural for a group representing such different backgrounds to have divergent views and

approaches, the Consultation worked in the spirit of humility and mutual respect.

The monastic environment of the New Valamo Monastery the daily worship, the cordial hospitality of the monks and His Eminence Paul, the Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland contributed to the success of the Consultation. It is worthy note that the New Valamo Monastery is located in Karelia having been transferred to its new location from the old Valamo Monastery which today is under the geographical boundaries of the Soviet Union. The Church of Finland, which was the Host Church, and the Government of Finland as well as the Finnish people extended the warmest possible hospitality to all the participants of the Orthodox Consultation. It should be noted also that the Orthodox Church of Finland is composed of 60,000 Orthodox Christians (less than one percent of the Finnish population), who are living members of the Body of Christ.

"The Valamo Statement" or Report has already been recognized in Europe as a most important document expressing Orthodox Ecclesiology. And rightly so. First, because it presents in clear language the eucharistic basis of Orthodox ecclesiology, secondly, because it stresses both the vertical and the horizontal (or social obligations) of the "eucharistic community," and thirdly, because it emphasizes the concern of the Orthodox Church in a vital representation and proclamation of the Orthodox Faith in the framework of a balanced approach to the Ecumenical Movement. The text of the "Valamo Statement" follows.

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REPORT OF THE VALAMO CONSULTATION

THE ECUMENICAL NATURE OF THE ORTHODOX WITNESS

A Consultation of Orthodox Theologians on the "ecumenical nature of Orthodox witness," arranged by the Orthodox Task-Force of the World Council of Churches, was held at the New Valamo Monastery from 24 to 30 September 1977, at the invitation of the Orthodox Church of Finland.

The purpose of the Consultation was to respond to certain ecumenical priorities which have emerged since the 5th Assembly of the WCC in Nairobi, and to bring some Orthodox insights to bear on issues and programmes as these affect the life and activities both of the WCC and of the Churches themselves.

The Consultation dealt with three specific items on today's ecumenical agenda, namely: "The Local Church," "The Proclamation and Articulation of our Faith," and "The Churches' Responsibility in the World Today."

The contents of the present working paper reflect a variety of opinions expressed throughout the meeting and they should be regarded as points calling for further reflection both within the various Sub-Units of the WCC and in the Orthodox Churches. In considering the main theme of the Consultation we felt it necessary to examine the ecclesiological basis of our ecumenical commitment, namely, our eucharistic understanding of the Church.

The Orthodox understand the Church in the light of the Eucharist. The whole life of the Church, the word and the sacraments, stem from and find their fulfillment in the Holy Eucharist. Thus the Eucharist is not just a "sacrament," but the great mystery of our participation in the life of the Holy Trinity, the recapitulation of the entire history of salvation in Christ and the foretaste of the Kingdom to come. In the Eucharist, therefore, the Church is placed in the very center of history, sanctifying and transforming the world, by being a new creation, creating a new mode of life. At the same time she is placed at the end of history as a sign of the Kingdom, judging the world (1 Cor. 5-6) in the light of the eschatological realities

of which the Eucharist is a manifestation (Cf. *Didache* 10).

The Church which has this eucharistic character is not an abstract or speculative idea, but a concrete reality. Whenever the people of God are gathered together in a certain place (*epi to auto*, see 1 Cor. 11:20) in order to form the eucharistic body of Christ, the Church becomes a reality. The Church, therefore, is primarily identified with the local eucharistic community in each place. It is by being incorporated into this concrete local community that we are saved and proclaim the salvation of the world in Christ "until He comes."

In order to be such a saving community the local Church must overcome and transcend the divisions which sin and death create in the world. The local community is a true and authentic manifestation of the Church of God only if it is catholic in its composition and structure. It cannot be based on divisions and discriminations either of a natural kind, such as race, nation, language, age, sex, physical handicap, etc., or of a social type, such as class, profession, etc.

Even the divisions created by time and space have to be overcome in this community. For this reason the eucharistic community includes in itself also the departed members of the Church, and although it is in fact a local community it offers the Eucharist on behalf of the entire "oikoumene," thus acquiring truly ecumenical dimensions in which the divisions of space are also overcome.

This catholic nature of the Church which is revealed in the Eucharist is safeguarded through the office of the bishop. The specific ministry of the bishop is to transcend in his person all the divisions that may exist within a particular area and also to relate a local Church to the rest of the local Churches both in space and in time. This link is sacramentally expressed in the synodal consecration of bishops. Because of the character of episcopacy it is essential that there should exist only one bishop in a given area and that all eucharistic communities should acquire their ecclesial authenticity through his ministry. The local Church, therefore, is not necessarily present in every eucharistic assembly but in the episcopal diocese through which each eucharistic gathering acquires its catholic nature.

This understanding of the local Church has always been essential to the Orthodox tradition. In the course of history cir-

cumstances often necessitated the creation of larger ecclesial units, such as the metropolis, the patriarchate, the autocephalous church, etc. However, in the function of these units, natural, social or cultural, and racial divisions should not distort the original eucharistic understanding of the Church. The canonical structure of the Orthodox Church, as it was formed in the early centuries, has helped and can still help to protect Orthodoxy from succumbing to such dangers.

The community of the Church is united in confessing one faith. This faith is essentially identical with the Apostolic teaching and with the "faith once delivered to the Saints." It found its articulation in the entire living tradition of the Church, especially in creeds accepted by the ecumenical Church and in the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils. The Orthodox Church regards the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils as faithful expressions of the one Apostolic faith and therefore binding on all the members of the Church.

This faithfulness to past councils, however, must always be understood as a living continuity. This includes two essential aspects: fidelity and renewal, both of which are integral parts of Orthodox life and Orthodox witness. Fidelity is never merely a formal repetition of the things once given, but basically faithfulness to the original apostolic truth, in the spirit of creative obedience. Renewal thus comes to mean, in the first place, responding to new, changing situations on the basis of the truth once given. It may also be said, therefore, that renewal in this sense means the application of the apostolic tradition to contemporary questions and needs. This principle implies, first, that fidelity does not become a sterile, static attitude, without relation to the prevailing human and historical realities and, second, that renewal is not an end in itself nor something which can take just any direction whatsoever, but is always based on the original truth of the apostolic tradition.

This process of applying the Apostolic faith to new historical situations explains the idea of the "reception" of a Council. Reception does not mean a "formal approval" of the Council. The faith which is pronounced by a Council establishes itself as Truth, by being received and re-received by the community of the Church in the Holy Spirit. Every form of confession of faith is shown to be in the end a matter of participation in the local eucharistic community. Faith becomes salvation only

when it is life in the community of the Church.

This raises the issue of confessionalism. The Orthodox Church possesses its own "confessions" of faith in the form of creeds and the decisions of the ancient Councils, especially the ecumenical councils. This makes it appear as a "confessional body" or "family" and it is often treated as such by the non-Orthodox. And yet such an understanding of Orthodoxy, sometimes encouraged by the Orthodox themselves, would contradict the fundamental character of its ecclesiology.

The Orthodox, if they are faithful to their ecclesiology, will have to deny the identification of the Church with a particular confession. A Church which is ultimately identified by its "confessions" is a confessional body but not the Church.

The Orthodox are actively involved in the Ecumenical Movement and have been members of the World Council of Churches since its foundation. How can their ecclesiology, as it was described above, fit into the context of this Movement and in programs and activities undertaken by the WCC?

In the first place it must be stressed that the participation of the Orthodox in the Ecumenical Movement of today is not, in principle, a revolution in the history of Orthodoxy, but it is a natural consequence of the constant prayer of the Church "for the union of all." It constitutes another attempt, like those made in the Patristic period, to apply the Apostolic faith to new historical situations and existential demands. What is in a sense new today is the fact that this attempt is being made together with other Christian bodies with whom there is no full unity. It is here that the difficulties arise, but it is precisely here that there also are many signs of real hope for growing fellowship, understanding, and cooperation.

The World Council of Churches is made up mostly of Churches whose identity is basically confessional, in the sense in which we have just defined the word "confessional." As a result, they normally see no reason why eucharistic communion should not be practised among the member churches.

The refusal of the Orthodox to practise "intercommunion" is thus seen as arrogance on their part precisely because it is assumed that they are another confessional body which regards itself as superior compared with the rest. In this situation it becomes difficult for the Orthodox to point to an ecclesiology so radically different from that assumed by the other members

have emerged since Nairobi and to which the Orthodox Churches have given their support based on their ecumenical solidarity. The emphasis on helping "the poorest of the poor," on establishing peace and justice between nations and states, on eradicating hunger, destitution, and sickness, on promoting human rights, on diminishing tensions, on searching for a just and responsible society, on directing science and technology along creative lines, and on the peaceful and safe use of atomic and other sources of energy, should be given due attention by our Churches as the above issues are part of their Christian concern and an integral element in their social witness.

The reality of salvation is not a narrow religious experience, but it includes the dynamic—which through the synergy (cooperation) of God and man—transforms human individuals into persons according to that image of God which is revealed in the Incarnation, and societies into *Koinonia*, through history, into the image of Trinitarian life.

Thus the eucharistic communion is the Church with all its implications. As the Saints have said: "Save yourself and you will save those around you."

The Nairobi Assembly has defined that the WCC is constituted "to call the churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe." The Consultation expressed its appreciation that the WCC has already launched the debate on the Local Church and it expressed its hope that the WCC will do more to direct the attention of its members to the importance of the eucharistic understanding of the local Church and the eucharistic community within the continuity of the Apostolic faith as the basis of the unity we seek and to disentangle its constitution from some elements and possibly some structures which make it so difficult for the Churches to find their way to unity. This would make it easier for the Orthodox to take a full and creative part in the Ecumenical Movement. In that respect the Consultation expressed its appreciation of the fact that the decision of the First Preconciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference to ask for a fuller and integrated participation of the Orthodox in the WCC has been taken into account by the WCC and that negotiations have been initiated in order to implement that decision.

of the WCC. It is difficult to show in this context that to belong to a confessional body is not the ultimate thing in the Church and that the Orthodox Church regards itself as the Church not on a confessional basis but on the basis of the fact that it identifies itself with the eucharistic community in what it regards as its proper and saving form. Only when this is made clear can the frustration stemming from the issue of "intercommunion" be removed. It will then be understood why it is more natural for the Orthodox to speak of "communion" rather than of "intercommunion" or "shared eucharist."

But this would lead to further consequences with regard to the Orthodox participation in the Ecumenical Movement. It will imply a re-orientation of the ecumenical problematic as a whole. This means basically that the unity which we seek in the Ecumenical Movement cannot be the product of theological agreements, such as a common signing of a *confessio fidei*. Theological work is certainly needed and should be of a serious kind and high quality. But its aim should be directed towards the understanding of the existential significance of the community of the Church, particularly of her visible structure which provides man with the possibility of entering into new and saving relationships with God and the world.

The dynamics of the liturgical reality (eucharistic community) as expounded here are rooted in the experience of the Trinitarian life in Christ which continuously saves and illuminates man and history. The members of the Church living, practising, and witnessing this eucharistic experience create a new life-style. This life-style was realized in the life of the Apostles, martyrs and all the saints who throughout history refused to change the "heavenly" for the "earthly." This mortal life is manifested today in the sins of our times, especially in a culture of individualism, rationalism, consumerism, racism, militarism, deprivation, and exploitation in all forms. In each culture the eucharistic dynamics leads into a "liturgy after the Liturgy," i.e. a liturgical use of the material world, a transformation of human association in society into *Koinonia*, of consumerism into an ascetic attitude towards the creation and the restoration of human dignity.

The dynamics of the concept of "liturgy after the Liturgy" is to be found in several programs and activities of the WCC which

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